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ABSTRACT

An attempt is made to give a systematic account of the research, by theoretical and applied social sciences, on practical measures and policies of adjustment of rural workers to nonagricultural occupations. Information relating to adjustment problems in 11 European countries (Austria, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, and Turkey) is presented. Proposals for action, particularly measures and techniques which have been developed to facilitate adjustment, are considered. Factors affecting adjustment are included, as well as specific recommendations related to methods of adjustment. A related document is RC 003 923. (SW)

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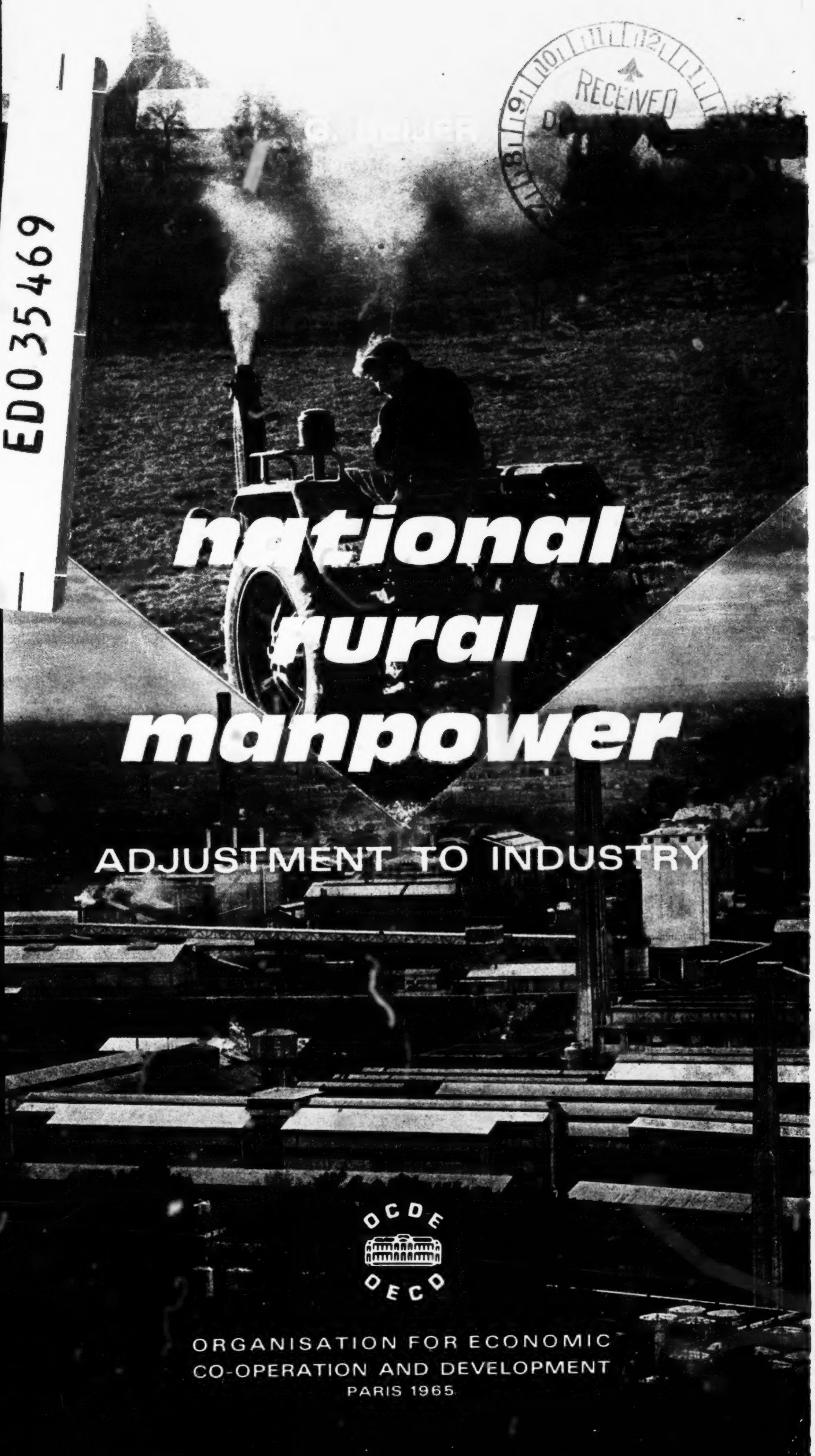

national rural manpower

ADJUSTMENT TO INDUSTRY

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national rural manpower

ADJUSTMENT TO INDUSTRY

ANALYSIS OF POLICIES AND PROGRAMMES

BY
G. BEIJER

ORGANISATION FOR ECONOMIC
CO-OPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT.

This brochure is published by the Manpower and Social Affairs Directorate, Social Affairs Division. It is the third in the series on Labour Mobility, No. 1 being "Rural Manpower and Industrial Development, Adaptation and Training" by H. Krier; and No. 2 "Adaptation and Training of Rural Workers for Industrial Work" by G. Barbichon.

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FOREWORD

An active manpower policy calls for the movement of people from one locality to another to respond to the changing geography of job opportunities. Concurrently, the programme seeks the promotion of job opportunities in those labour surplus areas where it is economically sound. The Manpower and Social Affairs Committee report to the Council of the OECD which endorsed the policy declares that "geographical mobility would be promoted by better information to workers about job openings outside the home area, but in many cases economic and other hindrances to desirable mobility are considerable... Measures should be taken to facilitate the social adjustment and integration of people settling in a new area, in particular those coming from very different environments, such as international migrants and rural workers going to urban industries."

In line with this conception, the Committee has sponsored a three-fold series of studies in the field of mobility. The first relates to industrial workers ; the second, to rural people moving to industrial employments or urban areas ; and the third, to foreign workers.

The present report on "Adjustment of Rural Workers to Industry" is the third report in the series on labour mobility and focuses on the second group. It is an integrated analysis of current knowledge, proposals for action indicating actual and future policies and techniques to facilitate the adjustment of rural workers to non-agricultural occupations, and conclusions and recommendations. The author is responsible for the findings he presents.

Preceding this report were a whole series of activities which culminated in this one integrated statement. The European Productivity Agency in 1960 organized a seminar attended by governmental officials, social scientists, and employers' and workers' representatives, on the adjustment problems of rural workers moving into industry. The discussion at this seminar focused upon an inventory of the problems of adjustment such as rural workers' basic lack of education and training, distinctive habits and concepts of work and leisure occupations, difficulties in finding places to live and family problems[1].

Subsequently, three international meetings were held for leaders of research in this area of study. They identified the theoretical aspects of the problems and discussed methods of research, appraised current projects, indicated new fields for study and made useful recommendations for further action[2].

The OECD itself sponsored an international survey of the practices for adjustment of rural workers to industry in 12 countries. Two reports were produced : one dealing with practical measures of adjustment for national rural population moving into industry and urban areas, and the other for foreign

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1. Krier, H. *Rural Manpower and Industrial Development — Adaptation and Training*, OECD, Paris, 1961.
2. Barbichon, G. *Adaptation and Training of Rural Workers for Industrial Work*, OECD, Paris, 1962.

workers. Summaries of these reports for national rural manpower migration are contained in the Annexes.

A joint employer and trade union seminar on the problems and techniques of adaptation of rural and foreign workers to industry was held by the Social Affairs Division in Wiesbaden in December 1963. The emphasis at this seminar was upon the role which employers and trade-unions could play in this field. Valuable case materials were collected as well as definitions of the actual policies and programmes of both management and trade-unions[1].

Dr. G. Beijer of the Research Group for European Migration Problems, The Hague, Netherlands, was invited to integrate these research studies and debates and the available material to be found in other national and international sources in a report, to provide the Manpower and Social Affairs Committee, the Member countries and persons dealing with these problems with both a theoretical framework and a coherent programme of action for the adjustment of rural workers to industry and urban areas.

Concurrently, the Commitee for Agriculture has carried on its own examination of the mnapower problems in agriculture and has published a report which deals with the present and possible future changes required in order to adjust agricultural manpower to general economic growth[2]. A further report, which investigates the obstacles to the mobility of agricultural manpower and describes the measures to overcome these obstacles, will be published soon[3].

Both the Agriculture and Manpower and Social Affairs Committees look forward to the examination of the problems and solutions from the points of view of the needs and problems of agricultural manpower in the light of this sector's future development, and the programmes required for the more constructive adjustment of rural human resources to industrial employments and urban communities into which such a large proportion are likely to move.

The underlying theme of this report, and that of the other studies in the field of labour mobility, is that effective adjustment requires an adequate understanding of the objectives of such mobility ; a definition of the size of the groups involved ; the length and variety of the economic, social and cultural distances ; the problems of narrowing these distances where the objectives prescribe their reduction or removal ; and finally the institutional organisation needed for effecting such adjustment. Then practical programmes have to be devised and applied to achieve the objectives.

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Manpower and Social Affairs Directorate, Social Affairs Division.

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[1] International Joint Seminar on Adaptation of Rural and Foreign Workers to Industry, Wiesbaden, 10th-13th December, 1963. *Final Report and Supplement to the Final Report,* OECD Paris, 1965.

The international OECD seminars referred to in this publication are:

1963-1. International Trade Union Seminar on Active Manpower Policy, Vienna, 17th-20th September, 1963.
1963-3. International Joint Seminar on Occupational and Geographical Mobility of Manpower, Castelfusano, 19th-22nd November, 1963.
1963-4. International Joint Seminar on Adaptation of Rural and Foreign Workers to Industry, Wiesbaden, 10th-13th December, 1963.

In each case a Final Report and a Supplement have been published.

For the sake of convenience they will be referred to in the footnotes as "International Seminar 1963-1, 1963-3 and 1963-4".

[2] Problems of Manpower in Agriculture No. 67, OECD Documentation in Food and Agriculture, OECD, 1964.

[3] "Geographic and Occupational Mobility of Rural Manpower" to be published in OECD Documentation in Food and Agriculture.

PREFACE

The study of the elements that affect both the working capacity of human beings and their chances of promotion, as well as economic growth, should include an analysis of the problems arising from the process of adjustment to new environments, inter alia the adjustment of former rural workers to industrial and urbanized life.

For many decades, social scientists have recognized the growing social problems arising from fitting internal national and international migrants into the new environment. Many important investigations and proposed practical measures have aimed at reducing to a minimum the stresses and strains of the migrant and his family. For a long time, the economic motivation of the movers was considered to be the most important factor influencing their decision to migrate and the main reason for successes or failures ; thus the *geographical* distance that had to be bridged by the migrant was not considered to be decisive, the *economic* distance — from poverty to better economic conditions in the future — being given paramount importance. As social responsibility increased, more attention was drawn to the importance of the social and cultural distance to be bridged in the process of adjustment.

In the present study an attempt has been made to give a systematic account of the research by theoretical and applied social sciences into the practical measures and policies for adjustment of rural migrants. Although knowledge about adjustment in general, and about that of internal migrants in particular, is relatively limited, the theoretical and practical aspects of the problem given in the present study will help Member countries to review their national programmes for facilitating the adjustment of rural manpower to industry and to formulate general and long-term policies.

The study has been divided into three sections :

Section I presents a rather comprehensive review of recently published studies in this field. Specialists in Demography, Sociology, Psychology, etc. might think that the subjects under consideration have not been covered in enough detail, that perhaps the sources presented are not the best, or most complete and up-to-date ones. These shortcomings however, should encourage closer interdisciplinary co-operation among the different fields of social sciences. The writer hopes that the present study may to some extent be useful to all the sciences concerned and interested.

Section II deals with the factors affecting the process of adjustment. It has been based to some extent on theoretical, but mostly on practical measures and policies.

Some recommendations based on the different paragraphs of Section II, are given in *Section III*.

The publication of the present study has been made possible thanks to the work done and the invaluable assistance given by the members of the national delegations comprising the Working Party, in the form of comments, corrections, and encouragement.

I am greatly indebted to the social scientists who have published studies in this field. I acknowledge with great pleasure the assistance of Mr. I. Erixon and Mr. E. Dimitras who both investigated and compiled the basic material in most of the European countries and wrote the draft reports, on the basis of which a preliminary final report was prepared by Mr. Erixon. I am also greatly indebted to Mrs. Magda Talamo who, in her final report on the Wiesbaden Seminar, gives a wealth of facets of the subject under consideration. Without the work done by Magda Talamo, I. Erixon, and E. Dimitras, it would have been impossible for me to cover in detail so many aspects of this topic.

I am also greatly pleased to acknowledge the assistance of Mr. Solomon Barkin and Miss Denise Lecoultre of the Social Affairs Division of OECD, who showed much more than usual interest in the report, generously assisted me with their knowledge and experience, saw me to discuss the material, and contributed many of the ideas which are to be found in the present study.

Finally, I gladly wish to admit that the present study is to a large extent a product of co-operation and teamwork and my thanks go to Mrs H.M. de Roo van Alderwerelt and Miss B. Noakes for their help and patience during the preparation of this study.

INTRODUCTION

The adjustment* problems arising from the geographical and/or occupational mobility of the rural population towards industry and the urban community are attracting increasing public attention. A new humanism is supplanting the former casualness on the part of management, public authorities and trade unions to the needs of these categories. The product of many social forces (not least the chronic shortage of manpower in industry) has given rise to a growing sense of responsibility concerning the newcomers' adjustment, integration and/or assimilation into the new work and living environments.

In the past, many people believed that the rural population were automatically absorbed into their new environment when they changed employment, but the facts today show that this is not the case. The *economic, social and cultural distance*** (emanating from the educational and social background, culture, religion, class, etc.) between the former way of life and the usually different working and living conditions in the receiving communities present visible problems of adjustment. The acuteness of these problems and the amount of assistance required to solve them will be in relation to these distances.

"Social distance"[1] [2] is used in this report as a practical, scientific concept for measurement, and to facilitate description and insight, and never in a discriminating sense with a value judgement for one or another element. The socio-psychological definition of "social distance" (as, for example, among many other authors, the social distance scale of *Bogardus* (1925), who used a set of seven items denoting varying degrees of social acceptability) is not used in this report[1]. The easy passage of people from agriculture to non-agricultural employment must be the objective.[2]

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* The term "adjustment" in this report means "adjustment of rural workers to non-agricultural occupations". A definition of adjustment is given in Section I page 18.

** Unless specifically stated otherwise, "distance" in this report means "economic, social and cultural (including religious) differences".

[1] G. LUNDBERG's definition of social distance is the degree of separation in status as indicated by the behaviour towards each other of the groups under consideration.

[2] For another concept, see STOUFFER, S.A. "Intervening Opportunities : a theory relating to mobility and distance" in *American Sociological Review*, New York, 1940 (5), 6, 845-967 :

> Stouffer postulated that "there may not necessarily be a relationship between mobility and distance, but the number of migrants is directly proportional to the number of opportunities at the distance, inversely proportionate to the number of intervening opportunities".
>
> See also: SPENGLER, J.J., "Population Theory", in: *A Survey of Contemporary Economics*, Vol. 1, 1952.
>
> Spengler's statement that "the volume of migration, in the absence of legal barriers to migration, is conditioned by inter-regional differences in the availability of economic opportunity and by distance" needs some explanation. The availability of economic opportunity refers to differences in available job opportunities rather than to wage differentials. See in this relation :
>
> REYNOLDS, L.G., "Economics of Labor", in : *A Survey of Contemporary Economics*, Vol. II, 1954.

As the increasing need for the movement of rural workers to non-agricultural occupations was recognised as vital to the realisation of national economic targets, the adjustment problem grew in importance. The movement was also essential to solve problems confronting the agricultural sector, which, in its present form, will probably create large surpluses of unemployed or under-employed manpower in many countries[3]. The passage of manpower resources to other sectors of the economy will produce higher levels of employment and larger national incomes. Every active manpower policy must, therefore, be :

> "Concerned above all with preventing unemployment, with creating full employment — a full employment in which individuals are working in a way that utilises their maximum potential and enables them to achieve the greatest possible self realisation.
>
> "Full employment is not the only goal of an active manpower policy. Its scope includes other economic aims — growth, stable prices, higher productivity — and its function is to find ways in which manpower and employment services can contribute to these ends. Manpower is regarded as an economic resource which must be fully utilised in order to achieve these economic objectives. Unemployment, under-employment and the failure to utilise manpower to its full capacity are considered as an economic loss because they deprive the community of goods and services that might have been produced without such dislocations."[4]

As no universal internal migration policy is possible, each country will have to work out a balanced programme adapted to its national situation, comprising constructive and specific measures for occupational and geographical transfer and adjustment[5]. The movement of the agricultural population to industry will improve both the personal well-being of rural people and national prosperity.

The urgency of such programmes is highlighted by the political and social problems which have resulted from the migration of large numbers of rural workers into industrial centres and regions. Tension and unrest have sometimes been evident and social sores have appeared. The results have been damaging to both newcomers and residents. The subsequent unrest has in the past, and may in the future, threaten the social and political stability of the receiving communities and undertakings. Countries unprepared for these problems have often tried to solve them with emergency measures, but full-scale programmes are ultimately essential if smooth and constructive adjustment is to be achieved.

It is crucial that rural workers moving into industry do not become a "marginal group"[1] (i.e. people living in two worlds and belonging to neither), that they be helped to find a place in the new societies and to be accepted by them, and that the adjustment process should end as quickly as possible in absorption, integration and/or assimilation.[2] Rapid integration and/or assimilation is also important in view of the need for manpower as a factor in the tremendous and unprecedented current economic growth. "More and more people are needed to master the problems of modern industrial development, of modern technology, not only at the top, but all the way down the line"[3]. The task of educating, training, and preparing former rural workers to live in a complicated and shifting environment has thus become increasingly urgent.

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[1] For a possible practical application of psychological ideas, see : GARDELL B., "Reaction of staff of the Alfa Laval Company to the transfer of their plant", in : *Final Report, International Seminar,* 1963-3, 53.

[2] BARKIN, S., "Introduction", in : Ibid, II.

[3] *Problems of Manpower in Agriculture,* OECD Report, Project 18/04-1963, (Document AGR/T(64)2).

[4] BAKKE, E.W., "Economic and Social Implications of an Active Manpower Policy", in : *Final Report, International Seminar,* 1963-1, 53/54.

[5] "Note on Rural Migrations", submitted by the International Labour Office, Ad Hoc Working Party on Rural Sociological Problems in Europe of the European Commission on Agriculture, Paris, 1964, 6.

See also Section II p. 31.

The successful achievement of this end depends not only on the migrant but on many other bodies in the departure and receiving communities, including management, trade unions, workers, other residents, and public agencies and organisations. The latter should, in particular, be prepared both to facilitate and expedite adjustment.

Trade unions, employers associations, etc. have contributed to the increased interest in human resources. They have insisted on the formal recognition of the importance of human factors in the shaping of social, industrial and economic policy and practice.[4] The trade unions have already in some areas, and will sooner or later in others, demand an adequate adjustment programme and facilities for new categories of workers.

Adjustment programmes must be based on sound principles. Although people need support and guidance, help in recognising their problems and making their choices, it is also extremely important that they should not become dependent upon these institutionalised systems of support. They must retain their independence and ultimately be personally responsible. The objective of adjustment assistance is to aid former rural workers to become fully-functioning, self-supporting and adequate members of receiving communities in their own right.

ADJUSTMENT PROGRAMME

Many European countries, the United States and Canada, have become increasingly aware of the social and individual problems arising from the movement of rural workers to non-agricultural occupations. Practical measures have been developed and aids provided by authorities, municipalities, employers organisations, trade-unions, churches and other organisations to facilitate adjustment.[5] But many are temporary, and have provided only intermittent and haphazard services, depending often upon charitable and philanthropic dispositions rather than upon normal continuing systems based on a clearly defined principle of public responsibility and recognition of resulting economic and national benefits. They were designed for immediate aid rather than for creating independent people ready to participate as equals in society.

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[1] See Section I. p. 26.

[2] See : ERIXON, I., *Practical Policies and Programmes for National Rural Manpower. A preliminary report,* OECD, Paris, 1964 (Document MS/S/3044). This report gives an excellent review of the problem.

See also Section I, p. 18.

[3] KRISTENSEN, Th., in his preface to: Svennilson, J., Edding, F., and Elvin, L., *Targets for Education in Europe in 1970,* Vol. I[illegible] of the "Policies for Economic Growth and Investment in Education", OECD, Paris, 1962, 5.

[4] CORREA, H., *The Economics of Human Reso[illegible]* (Contribution to Economic Analysis, Vol. XXXIV), Amsterdam, 1963, [illegible] "The p[illegible]on function for labor has as inputs, in the first place, human beings".

[5] *Adjustment of Rural Manpower to Industry, Surv[illegible] Practical Measures,* Activity 20-12, OECD, (Document MS/S/2657/1-13).

These systems are outmoded and no longer appropriate for the rural worker changing to a non-agricultural occupation. Smooth adjustment will reduce personal and social costs, inspire greater social and political stability and will enrich the new working sector, the receiving community and the country as a whole. The programme must therefore be adequate, rounded, systematic, well organised and aimed at the development of the newcomer's welfare and through this at the progress of national economic and social development.

When considering the individual tools required for this adjustment it should be stressed that their usefulness, multiplicity and the choices for specific communities will be determined by national policies, the number and age of newcomers and the distances between them and the receiving categories. Careful programmes will have to be developed when very large movements are concerned and where a high degree of adjustment is required because the distances are sometimes very wide.

Such adjustment programmes demand "determination, patience, tolerance, loyalty, information, financial and other resources and even technical help."[1]

AIMS OF THE REPORT

The aims of the report are *firstly*: to list current knowledge on the adjustment of rural workers to non-agricultural occupations; *secondly:* to consider a series of proposals for action, particularly measures and techniques which have been developed to facilitate adjustment, as well as those designed to encourage employers' and workers' organisations and the community to accept newcomers and to help their adjustment; *finally*: to list specific recommendations on methods of adjustment.

---

[1] BARKIN, S., "The Manpower Policies of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development", in : *Business Topics*, Autumn, 1963, 9.

Section 1

SUMMARY OF CURRENT KNOWLEDGE ON THE SUBJECT

INTRODUCTION

> "The volume of information on internal migration in Europe is much less than that on international or transoceanic migrations and related problems."[1]

It must be stressed that our knowledge of the problem of adjustment is relatively limited. The varied nature of the subject makes it difficult to study all its facets. Owing to the social, economic and cultural change involved in the movement of rural manpower to non-agricultural occupations it should be studied, like other social phenomena, from two angles, i.e. collectively and individually.[2]

The economic, social and cultural adjustment process of rural workers in urban and industrial centres, and in regions in the course of industrial development, may, however, affect not only the worker himself and his dependants, but also the receiving community (colleagues at work, the neighbourhood, community life).[3]

DEFINITIONS OF ADJUSTMENT, ABSORPTION, INTEGRATION, ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

The inter-relation of adjustment with different types of mobility can be no more than referred to here. A few authors apply a dynamic approach to this inter-relationship.[4]

Adjustment of a rural worker and his family to another economic, occupational, social or cultural environment, cannot be clearly defined. Various meanings have been given to the term "adjustment" and to the terms used to indicate a considerable part of the process of the adjustment, a process usually implying a complete change of the rural worker's frame of reference.

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1. TALAMO, M., *Final Report, International Seminar*, 1963-4, 14.
2. BARBICHON, G., Op. cit. p. 7.
3. See Section II, p. 50.
4. See, *inter alia* : LIPSET, S.M. and BENDIX, R., *Social Mobility in Industrial Society*, London, 1959, 160.

"Men who are mobile in one respect are also likely to be mobile in other respects" ; and also: ANDERSON, N., *The Urban Community — A World Perspective*, London, 1960, 180.

"A person who migrates may need to change from one type of work to another (professional mobility)... If moving to new work means economic advance, that may mean moving from one level of social status to another (social mobility)... Physical, professional and social mobility are inter-related."

As employed here, "adjustment" is defined as the process by which a rural worker adjusts, either alone or with the assistance of others, to the new conditions, customs, values and norms, and also, if necessary, to the new culture in the receiving community.

The process can be divided into several stages :

a) In the first stage, there is the question of *"choice"*. When considering whether he is to remain a rural worker or substitute the known for the usually unknown, the rural worker and his family will decide if it is in their interests.

b) The *second stage* is the process of *absorption* and/or *integration :* after starting a new job, the rural worker must be capable of absorption and integration into his new environment without harm to his personality. For this second stage, many rural workers must overcome their traditional objections to working in an industrial undertaking (or other non-agricultural work), such as : indoor work, monotonous routine work, shift work and the fact that they regard industrial work in general as socially degrading.[1]

c) The *third stage* is *acceptance* into the economic, social, cultural, religious, etc., patterns of the receiving community. Adapting to new circumstances usually entails a change in habits, attitudes and customs ; but adapting to changing circumstances is not a "one-way traffic", and not always determined by the rural worker's own attitude, his good or bad choice.[2] The attitude of local people and colleagues at work, and their willingness to accept the newcomer is also an important factor.

d) *Acculturation* (mostly used in the same sense as *assimilation*) is the *last stage* in the process of adjustment. This implies the adoption of the customs, norms and values of the new community.

Acculturation or *Assimilation* is an ultimate goal of the adjustment process ; this presumes the complete absorption, integration and acceptance of the newcomer and his dependants into the receiving community so that there are no longer any distinctions between their customs, norms and values and those of the local people. Once both are on terms of social, economic and cultural equality, the distances will have been bridged.

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[1] BEIJER, G., *Rural Migrants in Urban Setting*, The Hague, 1963, 172 ; see also : TALAMO, M., Final Report, International Seminar, 1963-4, 26.

"Objective recognition of occupational proficiency in the form of a permanent job seems to exercise a negative influence on the desire to improve, leading the individual to consider that the knowledge acquired is not only sufficient, but justifies immediate promotion..."

"A further cause of failure to adapt to industrial work may be found in factory conditions. In this respect, the author of case study No. 3 says : 'Although the works has been well designed, in accordance with modern technical standards, the former agricultural workers have not been able to adapt themselves to working three 8-hour shifts and using the clocking-in machine at the gatehouse.' "

"Despite heating and air conditioning, they cannot forget their previous open-air existence..."

"There have been absences for illness and cases of unwillingness to continue to do overtime work."

"Workers are depressed not only by the rigid timetables but by the inevitable factory setting."

"They continue to feel uprooted and as soon as their work is over, hurry back to their holdings in search of air and freedom."

"The economic pressure is such, however, that few local workers are thinking of returning to the land in the near future."

[2] For a broader illustration of the third stage of adjustment, see : BEIJER, G., *op cit.*, 9.

In fact, a more limited type of *adjustment* (at the stage of absorption and acceptance) is usual. In this case, the individual retains some of his norms, values and/or customs and is possibly independent or aloof — in other words, although he keeps some of his local characteristics and values he considers himself on a plane of equality with the receiving community and adjustment in other respects may be complete.

Both of these end goals, i.e. complete or limited adjustment, have been found viable and in harmony with liberal human sentiments in modern societies. In the case of the national rural worker, who in most industrialised countries is likely to differ less from the resident population than the foreign migrant, the greater proportion will be completely assimilated and cases of limited adjustment rather than assimilation will be less numerous although some regional, individual and cultural characteristics may be retained.

In other words the social and economic structure of a country, the degree of homogeneity of the population and the distance between the population of the different regions of the country will very definitely affect the nature of the adjustment problems.[1]

As mentioned above, the theoretical framework of this report is based on the concept of distance and the greater this is, the more difficult it will be both for the rural worker to adjust to the new environment and for the local population to accept and adapt to the newcomer. The smaller the distance, the shorter in general the process of adjustment. But, in conclusion, it must be stated that a great deal of flexibility is needed in the whole process of adjustment and that the final goal should not necessarily be total assimilation to the new milieu. Limited adjustment, implying complete and equal economic and political participation, is nevertheless essential.

THE PROCESS OF ADJUSTMENT OF RURAL WORKERS

The adjustment process is generally a difficult one ; it demands a considerable time, and does not take place in leaps and bounds.

Understanding and tolerance by both the newcomer and the receiving community can reduce the time needed for the adjustment process. The rural worker, in many cases, knows little or nothing of the receiving community, and will have to deal with common problems in his own way. Furthermore the attitude of the resident population towards the newcomer may change from one of sympathy and helpfulness to one of disillusion and vice versa.[2]

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[1] TALAMO, M., op. cit., 38.
"The degree of uniformity in the social and cultural setting in which the movement from agriculture to industry takes place is one of the objective factors that most determines the degree of difficulties encountered in the transfer. The existence or otherwise of the necessary infra-structures is a further element substantially affecting the adjustment of immigrants to new communities."

[2] *Ibid.*, 34. "The opinion frequently expressed at Wiesbaden was that the road towards integration or at least satisfactory levels of adjustment in the various sectors must be approached from both ends, that is to say by the immigrants themselves *and* by the receiving community. Moreover, the process involves with different degrees of responsibility both the citizens and their various social institutions. The latter should initiate the action necessary for the principles concerning the inclusion of immigrants in the community to become operative.

Adjustment: a dynamic process — a process of action

For many rural workers the influence of the former environment may be strong and their process of adjustment slow and painful. In general, the process is essentially one of growth and constant change, demanding considerable time, patience and perseverance.

Moreover, the movement of rural manpower to non-agricultural occupations must also be considered in terms of the dynamics and constantly changing situations of the modern industrial enterprise and urban community and not only from the newcomers' standpoint. Mobility must be described in "dynamic terms" at all levels and also "everything in this context will gain from dynamic study". Naturally, "more or less similar stages may occur during the movement: psychologically, for example, adjustment can take place in steps or immediately; external adjustment may be almost immediate".[1]

Rural - urban, an antithesis?

Society is not strictly divided into sharply differentiated portions, one urban and the other rural: there is a wide social range in between — a city may sometimes be rural and a village highly urbanised.[2] There are wide differences between European countries and even within each country.[3]

In our modern world of rapid changes, strongly influenced by the wide dissemination of information, up-to-date means of transport and reasonable mobility of manpower and capital, the separation of the population into "rural" and "urban" has become more and more difficult. In rural regions where three-quarters or four-fifths of the economically active population are engaged in non-agricultural occupations, it is difficult to think that they are very distant from their urban counterparts.

The definition of the rural way of life and the urban way of life does not depend on residence but on patterns of behaviour. Social distance is reduced in the degree to which people in a village adopt the urban way of life.

Real or imagined rural-urban antithesis must be seen in connection with the dynamic process of adjustment of rural workers to industrial and urban life. In many cases, the former rural worker's first phase of satisfaction and euphoria with the new way of life may be followed by a second phase of deception, dissatisfaction, disillusion and claims. There are, of course, always some rural workers who expect more to be done for them and are less self-reliant. The feeling of being "displaced" or "refugees" is bound to have serious consequences from the social point of view.

Actual and traditionally accepted differences in patterns and/or distance between "urban man" and "rural worker in industry"

Prejudices and *stereotypes* play an important part in actual and traditional differences. Prejudices against, and stereotyped ideas of, former rural workers are usually the exception at work, although the "country yokel" is sometimes given the most unpleasant jobs to do. In this connection, the necessity for preparing public opinion in both departure and receiving areas is most important.

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[1] BARBICHON, G., *op. cit.*, 20 (concerning the continuous or non-continuous dynamic aspect of the change).

[2] VERSLUYS, J.D.N., *"Urban-Rural Differences and Mutual Influences"*. Unesco paper prepared for the Seminar on Urban Development, Policy and Planning, Warsaw, September, 1962, 13.

[3] ANDERSON, N., *Op cit.*, 1-23, 214.

Despite the fact that in several countries the traditional rural population has almost disappeared some urban people still retain their old idea of "peasants" and this determines their attitude to the countryman coming to the city and industry. The distance between the original and the new residential environment is still wide in many countries.

Real rural society is traditionally static ; its structure and cultural norms and values are permanent in time. Rural workers moving to an urban environment may have this fixed frame of reference and it may be difficult to change.[1]

Urban society, on the contrary, is a society with a continuously changing social structure and cultural system. A distinctive feature of this society is "productive thought". Constant "productive thinking" is the consequence of change, which continuously presents man with new problems for which there are no traditional solutions ; it is also a pre-requisite for change, for productive thinking renders every situation problematic.[2]

The structural, social and cultural differences between the society he has left and the one he enters make substantial demands on the powers of comprehension of the rural worker, demands for which he is often unprepared, both through lack of education and the urgent problems of survival confronting him and possibly his family.[3]

In trying to bridge the distance, the "two-way traffic" and the different frame of reference again come to the fore. The former rural worker encounters the urban man, colleagues at work, people in his neighbourhood — people with a tendency to formal relationships, with an existing and accepted mobility — and sometimes finds them superficial, voluble, and capricious. But in fact, the townsmen are also likely to resist the changes which the rural worker may cause in industry and in the city. They may fear for their economic position. Material interests can, therefore, limit the possibilities of adjustment.

The whole problem of existing or traditionally accepted differences (prejudices, stereotypes) on both sides would probably be simplified if the rural worker, instead of moving directly to a non-agricultural occupation in a bigger industrial centre, first went to a smaller town and/or a regional industrial undertaking as an intermediate stage. The movement of town people to the country and the contacts between urban and rural people might also be elements which decrease these more or less artificial differences.

The anonymity of the individual in the city and in industry is also a factor which influences adjustment. Since urban society has only a limited influence on personal behaviour this may affect the adjustment in various ways. People who enter industry and the city wanting greater freedom will be satisfied, but those who start to worry about the consequences of the change, the absence of social control, etc., will find experience of an urban society frustrating. Although they may formally accept the new habits and may learn to use machines they do not necessarily acquire the values of the society they enter.

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[1] TALAMO, M., *op. cit.*, 30.
"The transfer from agriculture to industry is not only an economic development, or a technical productive change. For those who experience it, it involves a substantial transformation of patterns, and the changing of standards and values to which continuous, conscious and instinctive reference is made."

[2] ALBERONI, F., "Contributo allo studio dell' integrazione sociale dell' immigrante", in : *Vita e pensiero,* Milan, 1960, 22.

[3] "Le migrazioni interne e internazionali nel mondo contemporaneo", in : *Le settimano sociali,* Rome, 1961, 190-191.

Are rural workers a social group?

Rural workers moving to non-agricultural occupations are not a homogeneous group.[1] They are only a social category by definition and considered as a social entity because they have a common characteristic — that of being rural workers on the move. In fact, they do not generally move as a group and are seldom aware of their common characteristics. The idea of the rural worker on the move as a social entity is based mainly on experience of mass movements in highly industrialised countries. But in countries in the process of industrialisation, internal rural migrants often constitute closed groups.[2]

Moreover, the problems of hired rural workers who subsequently move into industry and those of independent farmers who go to work in industry but also keep their holdings (spare-time farming) will be different. The problems of the latter will be treated separately.

Readiness to adjust

Many rural workers have a liking for the "modern" and have abandoned their traditions of their own free will. But when deciding to migrate to industry they have not always realised that their acceptance of the *modern way of life* implies their readiness to adjust to new working conditions and continuous work with well-defined hours. They encounter colleagues used to working in industry and living in towns, and the bonds between them are weaker than those in a rural community with traditional ties.

Rural workers, especially the younger generation, want to escape from their old environment and to express their individuality. For many of them freedom to move means not only occupational and/or geographical mobility but also the ability to affirm themselves as individuals and in many cases to escape from the heavy weight of solidarity and discipline current in rural communities. In the long run, however, most changes in environment and attitude result in a more rational way of thinking.

Readiness to adjust is also strongly influenced by the level of aspiration, and this depends on what the former rural worker has been taught to believe about his present occupation and life in urban industrial centres.

Personal adjustment

The main variables which determine the actual process of adjustment are the rural worker's basic motivation, personality, expectations and ability to cope with the inevitable problems. The demands made and facilities offered in the receiving community will, of course, help or hinder this process. But as the situation gradually stabilises and the rural worker becomes used to the new conditions, his behaviour will be transformed.

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[1] See Section I, 26.

[2] CAPO, E., and FONTI, G.M., "*Rural exodus towards large cities*", Paris, 1964, (Report of the fifth meeting of the FAO Working Group on Problems of Rural Sociology in Europe), 15.

"Characteristics of settlement in Rome — takes place mainly on a regional or community level; tendency of certain well-defined groups of persons to be satisfied with precarious homes and unsteady occupations but to live in Rome, change in status and roles within the same family, tendency among immigrants and their fellow countrymen to form in the zone where they live, at least at the beginning, a closed group, partly due to a feeling of distrust shown by the other neighbours."

Difficulties in personal adjustment may arise at work, characterised by passivity and introversion — which make it very difficult to teach new methods and to obtain full co-operation. Experience has shown that even the least skilled worker in the factory receives his impetus from the machine, and adjustment to its rhythm is important.

In addition to these factors, the financial aspect of adjustment is involved : the workers' desire to improve their material welfare can create an atmosphere of common understanding and endeavour in achieving objectives, and will thus contribute to efficiency and productivity.

Individual psycho-social adjustment to changes

Individual psycho-social adjustment, which is closely related to the previous items, may be analysed and described in terms of personal feelings and in particular of subjective equilibrium. To be more precise : "a migrant may be adjusted externally to the new situation and satisfy the requirements of the groups on which he depends — his productivity is high, he is stable in his employment, his relations with the factory and at home are good, etc. — but he may not be adapted internally to the new situation, and analysis of his intimate private behaviour would reveal disappointment, relative frustration at lack of success in social advancement, the feeling of being rejected by those around him, or the feeling that his abilities are not recognised".[1]

This crisis in his behaviour and internal conflicts are psycho-sociological problems which are not peculiar to the rural worker in the city and in course of time will cause no more difficulties for the countryman than for the townsman. Continual changes in the social and economic spheres constantly cause new problems for both townsmen and former rural workers.

From the sociological point of view, internal migration has been considered as "an on-going process of decision-making in which satisfaction with the life in the community of residence is weighed against the social costs of leaving the community of residence. Decisive for the answer to the question is the level of aspirations the migrant has".[2]

Personal contacts at work

Another consequence of the change is the difference in personal contacts at work and at home. A man usually makes personal contacts and acquaintances at the factory in a short time, especially if the workers' and employers' organisations favour integration. As an adult worker spends more of his time at work than at home, the climate at work and personal contacts are a powerful factor in shaping his view of industrialised urban society. The attitudes of colleagues, employers and trade-unions are of great significance in this connection.

Adjustment to the new environment

The rural worker must be able or helped to adjust to his new environment in a minimum time. His way of life, his home and his leisure activities are, however, greatly affected by the attitudes and behaviour of the "old" inhabitants.

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[1] BARBICHON, G., *op. cit.*, 17.

[2] BEEGLE, J.S., "*Social Components in the Decision to Migrate*", Paper. Congress of International Sociological Association. Stresa, 1959.

Lack of adaptability or understanding on one or both sides may be a serious obstacle to adjustment, and the process of integration requires the participation of both camps. The subjective difficulties of the newcomer are matched by the equally subjective difficulties of the local population, sometimes resulting in a hostile and repellent objective environment. It has to be borne in mind that :

> "integration can be prevented by living environment ; rejected by the natives and concentrated in the same areas, newcomers tend to form closed groups on the basis of the social and cultural similarity of their regions of origin. Thus, placed in a position of inferiority and diffidence, it is difficult for the immigrant to realise that presumed hostile attitudes on the part of the local population are frequently no more than the projection of his own sentiment of hostility."[1]

Adjustment of the family

For the rural worker's family, adjustment is the confrontation and solution of the needs of husband and wife, children, and older people. These three groups constituting the family have been greatly affected by the change in social, economic, cultural and other factors. Family stability may be threatened and even lead to the estrangement of husband and wife, of parents and children. The transition from being an open family in a closed agrarian society to a closed family in an open industrial society is extremely difficult.

The attitude of the "old" inhabitants is very important to the solution of the rural worker's family adjustment problems. It may be difficult for the newcomer and his family to make contact with other people in their new house or district, and there is then the danger that they will turn to people originating from their former village or region.

There may be a causal connection between the tensions arising in the husband's job and adjustment to his new work and tensions arising in the family. Adjustment to industrialisation has changed — or will change — the old patterns of a family system to one which might be better suited to the needs of industrial society. Negative adjustment of the family will definitely affect the husband's productivity at work. It is, therefore, of paramount importance that family adjustment be assisted, for example, by positive attitudes of the "old" inhabitants towards the family of the newcomer as well as aid by relatives, friends, social workers, churches, neighbourhood, and community organisations in creating personal and social contacts.

Adjustment of women, especially wives

Relatively little attention has been paid to the problem of the adjustment of the rural worker's wife. The move to industry and dissolution of traditional community ties are bound to affect marriage and family, and the wife's central position within the family. If thoughts of the future (better educational and career opportunities for their children) are the prevailing note in family life, and life continues to centre around the family, this is largely due to the wife.

Usually, the wife has less contact than the husband with her surroundings in the new community, especially at first. Her household duties in the city are much less onerous than in the country but she makes comparatively little use of her greater freedom. Many women have been set free from work in the fields and farmyard and have started a different kind of existence, with new homes filled with modern household equipment. But urban surroundings with their rapid succession of new things and impressions can lead to isolation and insecurity and a rural woman may be conspicious in these more sophisticated surroundings.

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[1] TALAMO, M., *op. cit.*, 155.

Employment possibilities, especially part-time, are an important factor in this context. Single women moving to non-agricultural occupations (in a factory, in the service sector or as household help) may also be confronted with adjustment problems, and need special attention and aid.

Opportunities for wives to find employment are regarded as a rather strong incentive to move. The degree to which wives form part of the labour force varies considerably between different geographical areas and between different kinds of communities. The main reason for this seems to be the opportunity or lack of opportunity to find a job, although the variations may also reflect — to some degree — differing interest in taking a paid job. This is, of course, less true for farmers' wives than for other women in these areas. Still the prospect of being able to take up a paid job (often much less onerous than the former farm-work) plays a role in the wife's assent to migrate and in her adjustment.

Social contacts

It is the task of associations and organisations of various kinds to introduce the newcomer into existing group activities in order to facilitate and encourage social contacts. Institutions, like families, are likely to have their strengths and their weaknesses. A higher educational, cultural and intellectual level of the newcomer will make bridging the distance and formal contacts with people easier. Both trade unions and employers' organisations could help to prevent the former rural worker from being isolated at work; neighbourhood organisations and schools could do the same and more for the family in the areas where they are living.

Level of education and training

Education is "more and more widely recognized as a means to economic growth, which, since the end of the war, has everywhere become a paramount aim of national policy".[1]

The basic primary school education received is an important factor in adjustment. Experience has shown that this is usually inadequate, and that the promotion chances and work qualifications of former rural workers are, in general, slight. When they enter the non-agricultural labour force, they find themselves mostly in the group of unskilled workers — a marginal group. The great majority, especially older workers, stay in that marginal group without any chance of moving into another more advanced group, and if they want to change, or lose their job, there is little hope of their finding employment elsewhere.

Consequently "the urban industrial society which wishes to make the fullest use of, and give the greatest personal satisfaction to, the excess rural population, will be well advised to develop occupational counselling techniques specifically designed to re-arrange the normal occupational self-concepts".[1]

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[1] Svennilson, I., in association with Edding, F., and Elvin, L., *Targets for Education in Europe in 1970*, op. cit., 16.
See also: Schultz, T.W., "Education and Economic Growth", in: *Social Forces Influencing Education*, (National Society for the Study of Education, 60th Yearbook), Chicago 1960.

It should be mentioned, however, that in several countries the circumstances of unskilled workers have greatly improved during the post-war period. "The unskilled agricultural worker is now absorbed into industry in quite different circumstances from those in the past. He is received in extremely modern industrial conditions. Such workers are not reduced to poverty ; they get on".[2]

Adjustment will proceed much more easily if the worker moves because he possesses professional skills which he can put to better use in an industrial-urban community.

In this connection an important economic point to be stressed is that capital investment must include not only material goods, but, even more important, input into educating and training the population, especially in rural areas, to prepare and facilitate adjustment.[3]

The problem of marginality

Marginality — living in two worlds at the same time — is almost always assumed to hinder the fulfilment of the needs of both the individual and the receiving society. It may result in a feeling of being in a minority and isolated.[4]

One of the main questions relative to the "marginal" man concerns his economic, political and cultural adaptation. If he could be persuaded to take part in social or other activities he would try to change his marginal attitude. If personal appeal, similar values, tact and consideration have created a favourable climate in the receiving community, and there is a desire to give one another the benefit of the doubt, progress would be possible.

Multiplicity and complexity of problems

Among the many aspects of the adjustment of rural workers one important factor is that people may sometimes need to act collectively and sometimes individually. Either form of action is possible, or a combination of both. It has been frequently emphasised that social objections based on group standards — religion, tradition, etc. — are especially likely to form the main obstacles for adjustment to changed circumstances. An essential and significant factor in problems of collective and individual adjustment is that the former life, which was usually organised as a simple, surveyable entity with a more or less limited number of social contacts, gives way to a confusing multitude of impersonal and formal contacts.[5]

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1. HALLER, A.O., "The Occupational Achievement Process of Farm-Reared Youth in Urban Industrial Society", in : *Rural Sociology*, New York, 1960, 25, 3, 332.
2. BEIJER, G., *op. cit.*, 181.
3. REHN, G., "Manpower adaptability and economic growth", in : *The OECD Observer*, 1962, 1.

   "Investment in adaptation in parallel to the investment in education and other investments in human resources, should therefore be given a much larger place than hitherto as a part of policy for economic growth."
4. MOL, J.J., "La fonction de la marginalité", in : *Migrations Internationales*, Genève, 1963, I, 1, 193-195.
5. BARBICHON, G., *op. cit.*, 12 et seq. See the excellent psychological-sociological scheme on p. 13 and the interaction table on p. 14.

Adjustment and economic growth

All migratory movements, including the out-movement of rural workers, present problems of economic adjustment and result in changes in productivity.

Under- or non-utilisation of available manpower resources resulting from maladjustment can bring about significant losses in national productivity and neglect of social investments.

If there are obstacles to adjustment from the point of view of modern industrialisation, institutional arrangements which will contribute to removing them are of primary importance, since adjustment problems at work may send up production costs.

If a former rural worker cannot attain a minimum level of productivity, he should be given a vocational training course, but this often implies giving him a basic education first of all.[1] The need for research on the costs, returns, and other implications of occupational training, is evident.

The cost of the adjustment process

There is practically no information available concerning the costs and benefits of the adjustment process. Some concepts and tools have been developed to tackle the problem of the costs involved in migration, but as a recent publication states "provide only a sketchy framework for further empirical study of labour movement. Measures of the psychic cost of migration, for example, are hard to come by". The most essential conclusion, however, in this context is that "the relation between private and social costs of, and returns to, migration at best depends upon market structure, resource, mobility in general, and revenue policies of state and local governments".[2]

The age factor in adjustment

From demographic data and many investigations it can be seen that age is a pre-eminent factor in the adjustment process. Usually younger people adapt themselves, or rather integrate, more rapidly and easily.

For younger people, bridging the distance is influenced by structural factors such as finding suitable work, occupational training, etc., especially as the younger rural worker himself strongly desires to adjust to the new conditions of life. There are, of course, adjustment problems for young people, but the employment problem is easier for them to solve than for older and ageing people.

Older workers (55-64 years) (not only rural workers) have not been very mobile. However, it may be that the utilization of the newer counselling techniques and aids will considerably reduce this reluctance to change residence.

Concluding remarks

The above remarks correspond to a large extent to similar findings in the field of international migration. It must, however, be stated that the goal of relating the problems concerning movement of rural workers to migration behaviour in general, is far from being achieved. This is easily understood, because migration is certainly "a complex behavioural problem. If social scientists are ever able to explain migration behaviour fully, they will at the same time have gone a long way toward understanding human behaviour in general".[1] The mobility of rural workers is a symptom of *basic social change*, a necessary element in normal population adjustment and equilibrium, an arrangement for making the maximum use of people's capacities and possibilities. The former rural workers may be aiming not only at an economic goal, but at a social and cultural rise in standards.

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[1] CORREA, H., *op. cit.*

[2] SJAASTAD, L.A., "The Costs and Returns of Human Migration", in : *The Journal of Political Economy*, Chicago, 1962, 70, 5 (2), 80-93.

In short, adjustment means bridging distances. Adjustment to and acceptance of the values and norms of the receiving community will result not only in a formal but in a real assimilation of the former rural worker into urban-industrial life. The adjustment process will, therefore, be shorter and easier if the norms and values of the urban way of life have already been spread over the countryside, so that gravitation from the countryside to the towns is the result of an existing change in outlook, and is no longer a pre-requisite for such a change. Consequently, migrants moving from comparatively stationary societies encounter graver problems than those faced by internal migrants from partially industrialised and urbanised societies.

SUMMARY OF THE MAIN ASPECTS OF ADJUSTMENT

One of the main conclusions is that bridging the distances between newcomers and the local population is the most important factor in the adjustment process. It is not the geographical nor the economic distance, but the *social and cultural distances* which are of paramount importance.

The personal character of the individual concerned, the socio-psychological aspects and the intellectual and social levels resulting largely from the type of education received, are among the most important factors in adjustment, and particularly in the length of the adjustment period.

The rural worker generally comes into contact with very many factors in the city and in industry, which affect his adjustment. The following factors can make a positive contribution to bridging the distances :

a) Relations at work, nature of work, and promotion prospects to increase social status can do much to facilitate economic integration and adjustment.

Comments. Work, and in the wider sense the fact of belonging to the productive organisation of the community, has a dual effect on the process of adjustment. On the one hand, it introduces the newcomer directly into the fundamental structure of city organisation, thus favouring integration ; on the other it sets tasks and standards which make substantial demands on the adaptability of the former rural worker.

A job in industry represents the first step in the new social scale, and expectations for further progress ; "working together" and the feeling of belonging to the same class helps the subject to face the initial impact of different outlooks ; the former rural worker enters the same socio-economic context as the town worker, and in this context encounters organisations such as the unions, in which he is absolutely on a par with the local members.

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[1] HAMILTON, M.C., "Some Problems of Method in Internal Migration Research", in : *Population Index*, Princeton, 1961, 27, 4, 299.

On the other hand, the work involved in a factory hand's job does not always facilitate adjustment.[1] Industrial production requirements set a working pace which is more regular and more intensive than that of agricultural work. The term "working pace" signifies the usually timed succession of operations involved in a job as against a working rate dictated by hours of light and darkness, seasons, and the individual himself, the rate in industry is impersonal, dictated by the time-setter's chronometer or the operating cycle of the machine.

The former working system and the industrial system are different and incompatible. This applies to the organisation of industrial production in general, e.g. assembly-line work, or team-work. It also applies to social organisation in towns : relations with superiors are usually more frustrating for the ex-rural worker than for the local workers.

The rural worker in industry is usually unskilled, and has little chance of advancement. After being rapidly taken on, he finds promotion slow or impossible.

Inadequate basic education is a primary hindrance, since ex-rural and town-born workers are usually on a par in occupational training centres, if they have received an equivalent education.

b) *Living accommodation.*[2] The problem of finding a place to live is much more serious for the migrant than finding a job and adjusting to the new working conditions.

Comments. Little need be said on this well known and almost universal problem. Really poor adjustment and even complete failure may be the result of inadequate housing.

c) *The family.* The adjustment of the family, husband, wife, and children, to new living occommodation, way of life, buying or spending money, is often difficult, especially for the wife.

Comments. Family economy in town is not planned in the same way as in the country. Shopping and the method of acquiring the necessities of life in general, takes a different form. Shopping tendencies in towns, and initially inaccurate financial estimates, may lead to purchasing non-essentials beyond the capacity of the household budget, in preference to necessities.

Housekeeping in the city is based on the wages earned as there are no possibilities of providing one's own food, as was the case in the countryside. It usually differs radically from previous housekeeping methods.

d) *Human relations — social life.* Family and other social contacts (friends, neighbours) are usually different from those in rural areas. Relations between "old" inhabitants of the towns and the newcomers, may therefore have a decisive influence on adjustment.

Comments. In many cases adjustment is not only dependent on the suitability of housing, but on the type of relationship created in the residential unit. City life is rather anonymous and consequently very dissimilar to that of small village communities. In many cases, the hostility or indifference with which the local population regards newcomers results from prejudice, or subjective reasons quite beyond the control of either party.

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[1] TALAMO, M., *op cit.*, 152.
[2] TALAMO, M., *Ibid.* 150.

All studies show that adjustment to city life can be made easier by good preparation, social guidance, and information about the new way of life and by vocational training and/or retraining. A well-selected, well-prepared, rural worker and his family will obviously be predisposed to adaptation and adjustment to life in the new community or to work in industry.

The following factors are extremely important :

Age	younger people and adults usually adjust more easily than older people;
Occupation	the atmosphere at work, opportunities for advancement;
Housing	housing conditions,[1] home and neighbourhood, environment in which he lives;
Social life	friends and acquaintances;
Religion	religious bonds, church activities;
Recreation leisure	social clubs and other facilities for spare-time occupations.[2]
As a neighbour and a citizen	to accept the local citizens and their organizations and institutions, and to be accepted by them as an equal, and as a member of a social and economic group.

The continual changes in the economic and social spheres will constantly raise new problems and call for new measures to facilitate and shorten adjustment.[3].

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[1] See, int. al. : Dreifus, J., "Groupes nouveaux d'habitation en France", in : *Community Development*, Rome, 1962, 10, 97-122.

[2] See : Charlesworth, Ch. (ed.), *Leisure in America : Blessing or Curse ?*, Philadelphia, 1964, 96.

[3] Anderson, N., "Rethinking our Ideas about Community", in : *Community Development*, Rome, 1962, 10, 143-152.

Section II

PROPOSALS FOR ACTION. ACTUAL AND FUTURE POLICIES AND TECHNIQUES TO FACILITATE THE ADJUSTMENT OF RURAL WORKERS TO NON-AGRICULTURAL OCCUPATIONS

MANPOWER POLICY AND STATISTICS

When discussing the adjustment of rural manpower moving to non-agricultural occupations, one of the first questions which comes to mind is the magnitude of the problems as seen strictly from a statistical point of view. How many people are continuously moving of their own free will or with the help of mobility stimulation measures ? How are estimates made ? Do they reflect a fixed goal ? "It is evident that the size of the population and the distribution in social classes in economic activities, and in geographic areas should be taken into account."[1] The size of the population constitutes an "upper bound to the number of workers in the labour force".[2]

An essential condition for measures to be taken in the departure and receiving communities is that the statistics available give a reasonably good idea of both the demographic structure and trends in the employment situation. Statistical reports prepared at regular intervals on manpower supply and demand will facilitate an active manpower policy especially if accompanied by a forecast on the future situation.

In fact, most available statistics do not lend themselves to easy interpretation. Reports are prepared showing the manpower situation broken down by occupation, economic sector and geographical region. Countries whose manpower policy is based on forecasts, statistics and information, prove that these are important factors in the co-ordination of manpower with general, social and economic policies.[3] However, forecasting developments in the movement of surplus rural manpower to manufacturing and other sectors of a national economy is a relatively recent practice, and it will take at least a decade for it to be generally adopted.

INFORMATION ON MOVEMENTS OF RURAL WORKERS

Statistics concerning internal migration are available from a large number of countries, but no distinction is made between rural areas and industrial centres and there is no mention of occupational origins or the kinds of jobs taken after moving.

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[1] CORREA, H., *op. cit.*, 17.

[2] JAFFE, A.J., and STEWART, C.D., *Manpower Resources and Utilization*, New York, 1951, 285.

[3] LENERT, F., "Comparison of National Manpower Policies", in : *Final Report, International Seminar*, 1963-1, 63-142 : see especially 97-107.

"The statistical or other data available very often shed some light on the extent and characteristics of internal migration, but direct and precise information on the movement of rural workers to industry is generally lacking. This movement is an indirect result of the gradual shrinkage of the agricultural population and of farm labour. Its logical corollary is increased employment in the other sectors of the economy, especially industry."[1]

The figures only show the order of magnitude of the total movements,[2] but it is evident that the role of internal migration as a determinant of labour supply was of increasing importance in the period 1959 to 1962.[3]

Improved harmonisation of statistical demographic data is a measure already taken or in preparation in many countries, which will be of great value to the administration and policy makers for the formulation of a social welfare policy, and will be particularly useful for the planning authorities (e.g. long-term labour market planning and town planning).

The *utilisation of all available manpower* is one of the essentials for achieving a fully productive employment economy. Inputs of additional labour are necessary, since any manpower bottleneck is a serious obstacle to further economic progress. In an *active manpower policy,* however, statistical data need to be as complete as possible as a basis for a well-functioning labour market.

Planning authorities must take into account the shift of rural workers to industry and city by providing new jobs, housing for the newcomers, transport facilities, roads, hospitals, schools and kindergartens, leisure facilities, etc.

Proposals for useful measures for an active manpower policy and planning[4]

A careful analysis of the available data : the number and special characteristics of manpower, and the demands of economic development and growth, will be necessary for an effective utilisation of all manpower resources. Such an analysis will be useful for estimates of labour productivity and productive capacity.

"A central policy body, or adequate co-ordination between different existing agencies is essential to formulate overall policy to determine general directives, to identify strategic activities in the light of the changing needs, and to initiate and develop new programmes and services."[1]

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[1] TALAMO, M., *op. cit.*, 15.

[2] See : DOVRING, F., *Problems of Manpower in Agriculture,* OECD, Paris, 1964, 57.

"The total transfer of labour from agriculture in the 1950s has affected from five to eight per cent of the total labour force in several West European countries but only three per cent in the United States and one per cent in the United Kingdom."

[3] "Changes in working-age and in active population during the 1950s", in : *Some Factors in Economic Growth in Europe during the 1950s,* United Nations, Geneva, 1964, Chapter IV, 2.

"Columns (3) and (4) in Table I reveal a high degree of positive correlation between the trends of active and working-age population, though in many — but not in all — countries the former rose faster than the latter, indicating an increase in the overall activity rate."

See also : CORREA, H., *op. cit.*, 18.

"The relationship between population structure by age and sex and migration is less well known. However, it is acceptable to state that migration causes a loss of working-age population in the place of origin, and a gain in the place of destination." And also : JAFFE, A.J., and STEWART, C.D., *op. cit.*, 483.

[4] See Recommendation. Section III, 67.

The creation of a sound basis for the redistribution of population in accordance with manpower demands and resources is important and the problem is capital. Seen from a statistical point of view it is of great significance to be able to develop accurate manpower statistics and forecasts.

"Manpower policy should be given an important role in the pursuance of economic growth, by contributing both to the increase of the productive capacity of the economy and to its utilisation... There is need for training programmes for persons of all working ages to help meet demands for new skills and adaptation to changes in the industrial structure."[2]

The utilisation of employment officers as an instrument of active manpower policy is certainly a measure for solving problems in this field. These officers should cover all areas of a country and be concerned with gathering information about the labour force, forecasting employment trends, maximising the available labour force, and balancing seasonal and cyclical changes in the demand for labour.

"Employers and workers, through the development of manpower programmes on a plant, establishment, or industry basis, can make an important contribution to the promotion of economic growth. Such programmes, which will vary widely in both form and nature among industries and countries, can frequently be stimulated through appropriate labour-management-government consultation and co-operation. To be effective, such consultation must spring from an appreciation of the role employers and workers and their organisations can play in promoting economic growth and improvement in standards of all people."[3]

Some national statistical data

If we examine trends over a longer period of time, we find that employment in agriculture has been decreasing in almost all Western European countries since 1910.[4]

At about that time, the national census figures show that 42 per cent of the labour force in Western Europe was employed in agriculture. The corresponding figure for 1950 was less than 27 per cent of a labour force of 126 million, and in 1955 the percentage was down to 24. This means a shrinkage of about 3 million people between 1950 and 1955. Only in Spain, Portugal and Greece did the number of people working on farms rise above the level of 1910, but the percentages of the labour force employed in agriculture also went down for these countries.[5]

The policy on the distribution of the country's manpower resources between different sectors of the economy is discussed intensively in many countries. The release of rural manpower is regarded as a recruitment possibility for industry and other sectors of the economy, not as a goal in itself.[6]

Some national statistical data show trends very clearly:

Austria. Between 1951-1961 the rural population decreased by 24 per cent, and during the same period the modernisation of agriculture led to a decrease of 29 per cent in the agricultural labour force, which was immediately absorbed for work in non-agricultural occupations.[1] It was recently stated that the proportion of wage-earners in agriculture in relation to the total Austrian population amounts to 23 per cent today (1964). But part-time farming accounts for 48 per cent of the total, since a reasonable income level cannot be obtained from agriculture alone.

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[1] *Recommendation of the Council on Manpower Policy as a means for the Promotion of Economic Growth*, Press OECD, 1964, 3.

[2] *Ibid.*, 2.

[3] *Ibid.*, 3.

[4] DEWHURST, J.F., COPPOCK, J.O., YATES, P., *et al.*, *Europe's Needs and Resources*, New York, 1961, 69 et seq.

[5] ERIXON, I., *op. cit.*, 5.

[6] *Why Labour leaves the Land*, ILO, Geneva, 1960.

Belgium. The increase in the labour force between 1959 and 1965 is expected to amount to about 300,000 (both sexes). During the same period, wage earners in agriculture are expected to decrease by about 5,400.[2]

France. In 1961 20.2 per cent of the total economically active population was employed in agriculture (farmers, farm hands and assisting family members).[3] Between 1954-1962, the economically active population in the primary sector fell from 5,194,919 to 3,897,960 or by 1,296,959 (—24.9 per cent). The percentage distribution of active manpower (1954-1962) shows the following drastic changes[4]:

	1954	1962
Primary sector	27.6	20.7
Secondary sector	36.3	38.4
Tertiary sector	36.2	40.9
	100	100

"The essential feature is the radical decline in the active agricultural population, the annual reduction being about 150,000 per year. The Third Plan anticipated a loss of only 600,000 workers in this sector during the period 1954-1961, i.e. about 85,000 per year. It was soon realised, however, that this estimate, although sharply criticised as excessive in agricultural circles, was too low ; it was subsequently agreed that the average rate of decline would be about 110,000 per year, but even this estimate fell short of reality."[5]

In France, more than in other European countries, two special aspects of the mobility of rural manpower have to be taken into account.

a) the geographical movement of manpower of rural origin, which results in the change of their economic activities and in their moving to industries and cities ; and

b) occupational mobility as a result of the establishment of industries in the countryside, which implies that rural people can change from rural to industrial occupations without leaving their homes.

About 1 million people have moved from the French provinces to the crowded Paris area since 1954. Most of these provincials come from Brittany, Normandy and the central departments, 45 per cent were unmarried people of working age, 28 per cent accompanied by husband or wife, 27 per cent youngsters who arrived with their parents. More women (56 per cent) moved than men. The average age of the newcomers was about 26.[1]

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[1] [illegible], H., "Austria", in : *Supp. to Final Report, International Seminar*, 1963-1, 111.

[2] [illegible], J., "Belgium", *ibid.*, 129.

[3] *L'emploi agricole dans les pays de la C.E.E.*, Tome I : *Structure, Études, série politique sociale*, 7, Bruxelles, 1964, 11, Table 1.

[4] [illegible], C., "Occupational Mobility of Manpower", in : *Final Report, International Seminar*, 1963-3, 163.

[5] *Ibid.*, see also : *L'emploi agricole etc.*, op. cit., 33-42.

Federal Republic of Germany. The percentage of the total economically active population in agriculture fell from 23 per cent in 1950 to 13.8 per cent in 1961.[2]

Greece. According to a census, the distribution of the economically active population according to sectors was as follows in 1961:

Agriculture	1,955	thousand
Industry	690	»
Services	866	»
Unknown	152	»
Total	3,663	»

This total includes 1,030,000 members of the family assisting the wage earner.

"On the basis of the plan of economic development (1960-1964), a yearly increase of employment by 1.9 per cent, i.e. 65,000 to 70,000 is anticipated which will be noted only in the sectors of industry (3.2 per cent) and services (5 per cent) since no increase whatsoever is expected in the agricultural sector."[3]

Italy. The most conspicuous changes in the structure of manpower are as follows (in percentages of resident population).[4]

	AGRICULTURE	INDUSTRY	OTHER BRANCHES
1954	38.4	34.0	27.6
1962	28.6	40.8	30.6

Between 1951 and 1962 the male labour force in agriculture diminished from 6,228,000 to 3,746,000 or by 43 per cent, the females, however, by only 13 per cent in the same period.[4]

Migratory movements in Italy are of a very specific nature. The following table shows population changes in the three main geographical regions (changes between 1951 and 1961 in thousands).[5]

REGIONS	NATURAL GROWTH	EFFECTIVE GROWTH	EMIGRATIONAL (—) OR IMMIGRATIONAL MOVEMENT (+)
North-West	323	1,352	+ 1,029
Centre-East	1,169	812	— 457
South and Sicily	2,656	884	— 1,866

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1. "Paris Provincial Immigrants", in: *France Actuelle*, Paris, 1964, 6-7. (The article is based on a survey carried out by the "Institut National d'Etudes Démographiques", Paris).
2. TALAMO, M., *op. cit.*, 15, see also: *L'emploi agricole*, op. cit., 24-33.
3. HATZOPOULOS, V., "Greece", in: *Supp. to Final Report, International Seminar*, 1963-1, 146-47.
4. MERLI BRANDINI, P., "Italy", *ibid.*, 72. See also: *L'emploi agricole etc.*, *op. cit.*, 42-50.
5. BAGLIONI, G., "Trade Union Assistance to workers migrating from the South to the North of Italy", in: *Supp. to Final Report, International Seminar*, 1963-3, 79.

The percentage of employment in agriculture compared with employment in general, calculated in man/years, fell from 14.2 per cent in 1949 to 11.5 per cent in 1956. The index for agricultural employment (1949-50/1952-53=100) dropped from 124.9 in 1938-39 to 92 in 1956.

Sweden. The agricultural labour force fell from 723,000 in 1940 (24 per cent of the total labour force) to 540,000 in 1950 (18 per cent) and 346,900 in 1960 (10.7 per cent). During this latter period, some 20,000 people left the land each year.[1] A more recent estimate of economically active persons still employed in agriculture is about 6 per cent of the total active population.[2]

United Kingdom. The working population in agriculture, forestry and fishing fell from 1,161,000 in 1950 to 947,000 in 1961, or a total of 214,000 persons (decrease of about 18 per cent). Only about 4 per cent (947 thousand out of 23,865 thousand employed working population) of the active population were employed in agriculture in 1961.[3]

Northern Ireland. The decrease of the labour force in agriculture amounted to about 29,000 people between 1950-1961. Only 72,000 of a total labour force of 534,000 were employed in agriculture in 1961.[4]

United States. 8.1 per cent (5.4 million) of the labour force was employed in agricultural occupations in 1960. Estimates for 1970 forecast a fall to 5.3 per cent (4.2 million).[5]

Turkey. 71 per cent of the total population of about 28 million live in rural areas (1961). Sixty per cent of the population aged 15 years and above are illiterate. In 1961, about 9.8 million of a total of about 12.5 million were employed in agriculture. In July 1962 there was under-employment of one million workers in the agricultural sector. (This figure is 800,000 according to statistics compiled by the State Planning Board).[6]

MEASURES TO FACILITATE ADJUSTMENT IN GEOGRAPHICAL AND OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY

These measures should take into account both the newcomers' and the receiving community's adjustment. The first aim of all measures is the absorption and integration into the new way of life in all its aspects — economic, social, cultural and political, in order to shorten, if possible, the time needed for adjustment and to reduce the social and economic costs involved.

As shown above, adjustment to the new environment implies, or can imply, a series of changes in the habits, attitudes, and customs of the immigrants. In general, unfortunately, little insight has as yet been obtained into the problems of adjustment which occur in mobility over a certain distance, although, as some experts and experience have shown, the greater the distance between the receiving and sending communities, the greater will be the adjustment problems and the more difficult their solution. Therefore, techniques to facilitate and to shorten adjustment, based on current knowledge and practical experience, must aim particularly at recognising the main aspects of the existing distance and using the right measures to bridge it. Measures to facilitate and shorten adjustment cannot be divided into those used before and those used after the arrival of the migrant. Many of the measures described below might influence the migrant before as well as after departure and be helpful in bridging the social distance. They are interrelated different stages in the adjustment process.

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[1] TALAMO, M., *op. cit.*, 16.
[2] ERIXON, I., *op. cit.*, 4.
[3] Calculated from: BOYFIELD, R., "Great Britain", in: *Supplement to Final Report, International Seminar* 1963-1, 54.
[4] MACGOUGAN, J., "Ireland", in: *ibid.*, 151.
[5] VIMONT, C., *op. cit.*, 168, table 11.
[6] From: URAN BARAN, A., "Turkey", in: *Suppl. to Final Report, International Seminar*, 1963-1, 179.

Measures to facilitate adjustment are to be taken both in industry and in the receiving community

If the workers are asked to adjust themselves to the industrial organisation by accepting its technologies and systems, industrial organisations must also be asked, firstly : to make it possible for ex-rural manpower to adjust itself, and secondly : to play their part by making adjustments in their policies.

"An element that must be borne in mind, particularly in cases of decentralisation, is the *dynamic interdependence* which links industry to the community in which it is installed and functions. While industry influences the structure and relationships of the community, the social system of the latter affects the activity of the industry. The ties joining each firm to its surrounding community and beyond the latter to the political and economic system of a larger society, are many indeed; the balance of the region depends on the equilibrium maintained in these relationships."[1]

"The responsibility of the social partners must be stressed : the process of adaptation cannot be successful without the participation and co-operation at all levels of the communities, employers and the unions."[2]

Measures affecting the decision to migrate

Experience shows that a *well-organised social and economic structure,* accompanied by good information and preparation, greatly facilitate adjustment.[3]

In countries with a not so well-organised structure, in addition to the better-educated or young skilled workers, other large groups of younger and older rural people moved or are moving blindly, their decision sometimes based on "optimistic" information from members of the family and friends. The movement has hitherto been predominantly spontaneous.

The use of *modern means of communication* to provide the rural surplus population with realistic information about industrial and city life is a way of influencing the out-movement and the personal decision to migrate. Comparison between the facilities available in cities and in the country may be a "push" factor for rural people, even in an area where there is a strong attachment to the traditional environment. However, information likely to lead people to over-rosy expectations must be strictly eliminated.

People in general, and especially rural people, frequently need a realistic "*guiding image*" (Leitbild) about the modern, industrial way of life to facilitate their willingness and/or their decision to move. The image given however must be that urban-industrial society is characterised not only by wide-ranging interdependence and centralised co-ordination, but also by health and welfare services,

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1. TALAMO, M., *op. cit.*, 44.
2. TALAMO, M., *op. cit.*, 45.
3. ROUTH, G., "Geographical Mobility of Manpower", in : *Final Report International Seminar*, 1963-3, 128-143.

social security, good but rare housing accommodation, recreation possibilities, and — last but not least — good conditions at work, personal and material well-being, and the possibilities of receiving schooling and training, which will compensate for the shortcomings and the negative side of modern urban-industrial life.

As public and private transport are likely to expand, the further extension of *transport services* to predominantly rural areas will increase the mobility of the rural population and contribute to facilitating the adjustment of those who have moved into cities by making it easier to keep in contact with relatives and friends in the countryside.

Preparing the decision to move by analysing the present and future situation

a) The process of preparing the decision to move has been especially studied and developed in the *Netherlands,* most frequently by discussions with the prospective migrants about their future. They are stimulated to take an active part in analysing their present situation and in planning their future life. Among the techniques used the *community self-survey, rural-social guidance* and *economic social guidance* can be mentioned.

The function of a *community self-survey* is very distinct from that of an ordinary survey. The primary aim of the self-survey is to start social action, not to produce scientific data. It is important that the people of the migration area in question should have a chance of facing their problems, discussing them and deciding upon a plan of action.

In the Netherlands, a number of successful self-surveys have been carried out in rural districts, where drastic structural and functional changes occurred as a result of regional reforms or industrialisation. Before introducing a self-survey in a community, it is essential to secure contact with and co-operation from the local authorities.

The local community leaders must decide if they want any outside help. If a consultant is to be engaged, it must be made clear right from the start that his role is that of an objective outsider.[1]

The research techniques used for the survey can range from group discussions to the use of uniform interview schedules. The results should be published so that they are easily accessible to the whole population studied.[2]

During the survey, information can be collected about attitudes to agricultural modernisation and rationalisation, to land consolidation, to the existing patterns of inheritance, etc., all closely related to migration. This information can then be used for further preparation of the decision to migrate through *rural-social guidance.*

About 45 consultants are now engaged in the Netherlands in rural-social guidance activities, which are carried out in close co-operation by the Ministry for Social Work and the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries.

The volunteers who take part in the work as assistants to the professional advisers have a very important role in rural-social guidance ; as they live in the region and enjoy the confidence of the population, the activity will be more rapidly accepted. They receive a short training during 3 or 4 evenings, and are then provided with the necessary documentation and employed as leaders of discussion groups.

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[1] The self-survey prepared by the Ministry of Social Work was not intended to be applied in the different regions, but more as guidance for the execution of self-surveys.

[2] HENDRIKS, G., *Community Self-Survey,* The Hague, 1962.

The main aim of *rural-social guidance*[1] is to promote the conscious adaptation of the rural population to the changes taking place in economic and social life. The resistance of the agrarian population to measures for improving the structure must be eliminated ; then labour productivity and income must be increased through progressive rationalisation and mechanisation ; this will reduce the number of agricultural workers, resulting in an exodus from agriculture.

An example of this type of work is a social guidance project which took up problems of social structure in 12 small villages in the province of Limburg. The first step was a community self-survey, which showed that wives very much resented the patriarchal behaviour of their husbands. The guidance activities therefore started with the presentation of a series of talks on the theme of patriarchal behaviour and conflict between the generations. In the following stage discussion groups of 12 - 15 men were organised ; the next step was discussion groups for women, and then discussion groups for the younger generation.

This project resulted in considerable changes in attitudes, making the village population, and especially men, more open to new ideas and better prepared to adapt to the changing conditions of work in agriculture. This is already a step towards adjustment to non-agricultural occupations.

b) *Economic social guidance*[2] is a recent development in social guidance. Unlike rural-social guidance, economic social guidance centres on a specific family and a specific farm. In this individual approach, special stress is laid on the often strong ties between the family and their farm. When advising on the economic possibilities of the farm, resources in labour and capital and the family's needs and social problems are taken into account. This calls for a thorough economic analysis of the farm operation and family expenditures.

If the diagnosis shows that the farm is well worth keeping, the farmer is advised to stay in farming, if need be taking some rationalisation measures.

If the diagnosis is bad, the farmer is advised to try to find another job and will be helped to do so. The social guidance officer ensures that the farmer is contacted by a representative from the local labour exchange, who will try to help him with the problems of change. The foregoing items are all more or less primarily devoted to factors and measures influencing out-migration and affecting adjustment in industry and in the receiving community.

c) In this connection, the reorganisation of internal mobility in France, the aims of the new policy and the measures planned or being carried out, are outlined below :

Public measures are concentrated on the fields of information and guidance, occupational training, and housing. With regard to *information and guidance*, there are, in addition to the AMPRA services (Association pour les Mutations Professionnelles en Agriculture), other possibilities of facilitating the mobility of rural manpower to industry. The military services should also organise a vocational guidance service.

Rural manpower can benefit from the ordinary *occupational training* programme of the FPA, which has also recently set up special regional bodies specialising in basic training in areas which are subject to changing employment conditions. The aim of this basic training is to raise the educational level of rural manpower to that of manpower with an urban background.

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[1] ESSER, W.M., "Development of Rural-Social Guidance in the Netherlands", in : *Sociologia Ruralis*, Assen, 1963, 3, (3), 293-309.

[2] Sweden has an individual economic guidance system similar to that in the Netherlands where the guidance process ends in a decision as to whether or not the farmer should continue in agriculture. This service is, however, suffering from a shortage of suitably trained, experienced personnel.

The Ministry of National Education also takes an interest in the problem of the differences in educational levels in urban and rural areas. New school districts with five thousand inhabitants are being created to act as a basis for secondary schools, up to the age of 16. The Ministry of Agriculture stimulates the development of new schooling facilities for children in rural areas.

The AMPRA's programme also comprises measures aiming at the *social adaptation* of rural manpower to new conditions connected with moving to industrial life. No financial aid is given to rural migrants for their furniture removal or travel costs. However, in the case of an enterprise moving, public funds are available for the *construction of housing. Homes for young workers* who come to the cities to work should also be mentioned in this context. Though these homes are not reserved exclusively for rural youths, they are helpful for them.

The specific aspect of measures in France[1] is the adaptation of planning measures to an all-round system : first of all, there are seminars for agricultural workers, attended by both people wishing to stay and to move, then regional expansion committees (with the same dual orientation), and finally information for all agencies concerned.

Training possibilities, financial aid for both sides, job guidance, organisation of transport and housing, are all covered by the agencies.

Financial aid can promote geographical mobility and facilitate the decision to move to industry. Grants for travel costs, financial assistance when starting a new job, and special family allowances are bound to make the decision to move easier.[2] Since that move is desirable for the collectivity it is only reasonable that the latter should contribute towards the costs of moving and installation.

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[1] LUCAS, L., "France", in : *Supplement to the Final Report, International Seminar,* 1963-1, 7.
"An active employment policy, which is absolutely necessary for progress in development, far exceeds in scope one that is strictly confined to manpower, and in France as elsewhere, is bound up with economic and social policy as a whole. The latter — and herein lay until now the originality of the French situation — is in theory formed and applied as an element of general planning. It is therefore essential, before describing in detail ways of intervening on the labour market, to indicate the method of approach to the employment problem adopted in French planning, as well as the main guiding lines laid down, particularly in the IVth Plan. It is, in fact, the accuracy of the forecasts and solutions recommended in the preparation of the Plans that determines the subsequent efficiency of manpower policy."
"With all its difficulties, an attempt should be made to plan manpower moves *before* those concerned lose their jobs ; then groups of affected workers should be persuaded to take the initiative in planning moves to an area with job opportunities, somewhat after the fashion of the co-operative housing projects coming into vogue in Britain. Because people are suspicious of government officials, it might be desirable for the trade unions to take a more active part in promoting movements to developing areas. It would probably be found that it would pay to make much larger public funds available to aid movement, but the best agents to administer these funds might be the trade unions, though here again, as much initiative as possible must be drawn forth from the people concerned."

[2] In *Sweden* rural migrants can benefit from a general programme. There is a series of financial measures to support mobility, i.e. for travel and removal costs, a family allowance and a "new-start" allowance. In *Norway*, there is a system modelled on the Swedish system. In *France* and *Ireland* financial aid is given for farm-to-farm migration (from heavily farmed to less populated agricultural areas). In *Germany*, there are possibilities of giving financial support to unemployed workers in order to make it easier for them to find new work. This financial support includes, e.g., compensation for costs in connection with visiting a prospective employer to discuss employment, the costs of travelling to the new working place, travelling costs for the family and removal costs.

Financial aid might also be a constructive and important way to stimulate people for training and re-training, by helping them to buy a house or to build houses in co-operation with others in their spare time.

Information and guidance for migrants

As stated previously, adequate information about the labour market situation is an important factor in enabling the authorities to contribute to satisfactory internal mobility. Migrants must not only receive this information, but also be informed about conditions for rural workers in the receiving community — if possible before moving. But as in many countries information and preparation for people who are willing to move are not available before moving, information and guidance must be given in the receiving community, if available there.

Guidance for migrants[1] is a vital measure facilitating adjustment. It is necessary to prevent disappointment in job expectations and the other reasons for failure to adjust. Nothing is more disillusioning for the migrant than to discover many obstacles after arrival about which he has not previously been informed.

Guidance for internal migrants should, as a minimum, include the following basic information :

a) all problems which might arise : problems at work, the family in the new environment, in religious life. Special attention must be given to the socio-psychological aspects involved ;

b) the guidance information should be adapted to the characteristics of the migrant and to his outlook ;

c) the information must be based on the reality of the new life, and stress the positive as well as the negative aspects.

General information given to internal migrants should cover : jobs available, information on occupational trends,[2] working conditions in general, different methods of work, gross and net wages, social security for the worker and his family, possibilities of change in work place, and of promotion ; as well as : housing conditions, trade-union activities and vocational training possibilities.

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[1] *Germany (F.R.)* wishes to attack the present problem of adjustment by establishing the necessary practical measures, such as e.g. programmes for *social guidance*.

In *Norway* some guidance activities (in a plant) are performed through the personnel and health department, but it would probably be of great significance if the authorities could be more active here.

In *the Netherlands*, a steelworks developed a practical measure for guidance — introduction courses held for newcomers to the plant.

In *Sweden*, it is the ambition of the National Labour Market Board not to lose sight of a migrant until he has adapted to his new milieu. With one exception this type of guidance exists only on a quite informal basis.

[2] Information on occupational trends may be a bountiful source of employment information and of parctical value for policy information, but its preparation is expensive. Up-to-date information is produced only in the *United States*. In the *United Kingdom* information on trends is available periodically.

See "Policies of Government and International Organisations", in : *Final Report, International Seminar*, 1963-3, 100.

For the *United States of America* see :
Handbook for Smaller Communities Programme, U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Employment Security, US Employment Service, 1963, (reprint), 18.

"Every tool and technique used by the Employment Service should be utilized to the maximum in order to provide the applicant with the best possible information." Although this and other information is not intended especially for rural workers migrating, they might also benefit from it.

A selection of several guidance methods is possible, e.g. :

a) *oral counsel* — usually most effective for individual cases ;
b) *personal contacts,* through visits, group discussions, seminars ;
c) *realistic* documentary, printer, oral, and/or visual *information* (via mass-media).

The individual differences between the migrants have to be taken especially into account. Therefore, special attention should be given to :

a) the personality of the husband, the combined personalities in the family, and especially that of the wife within the family, together with their motivation to migrate, their religious and traditional background, etc. ;
b) single persons, young couples, families with younger or older children, will all have to be dealt with differently ;
c) *realistic* documentary, printed, oral, and/or visual *information* (via mass-media).

In appropriate cases, *special preparation and guidance* might be required for the *wife and the family,* comprising several stages of guidance. Information for the wife and mother should cover :

a) use of gas, electricity, public transport and other services ;
b) way of spending money ; the budgeting problems arising in a consumer society ; information about shopping ; recreational facilities ;
c) eating habits — the changes in the daily diet, etc. ;
d) situation at schools, school accommodation for children, kindergarten facilities ;
e) information on educational facilities, future prospects for younger children and job opportunities for older children ;
f) information on full or part-time work for wives ;
g) possibilities of informal and personal contacts through social welfare organisations in communities ; contacts with social workers, particularly for wives.

The opposition of wives to the move can be a brake on their husbands' desire to change their occupation and environment. Wives who migrate against their will are serious handicaps to their husbands' and their own adjustment and that of the family in general.

Information and guidance, including job information given to wives before departure, is an essential factor in facilitating adjustment in view of their role in the family, especially in the case of *a posteriori* mobility of older rural people. Younger girls moving alone should be given special information and guidance.

The motivation for leaving the rural environment varies according to age. A young wife is often in favour of migration because her husband is in favour. If the wife is older, her arguments for or against migration may be based on her expectations of her children's or huband's employment prospects. Information about educational possibilities for the children and the improvement of the economic situation, about the position of the wife in the new environment, the changes in housing accommodation and the way of spending money, etc., should be provided to encourage the wife's willingness to migrate.

As stated above, guidance for migrants mostly includes *job information*, and this should be provided by employment services.[1] Such information provided in the sending and/or receiving communities can contribute to finding the right place for the right person and avoid over-frequent changing of jobs. The importance of itinerant services, special radio and television communiques and other means should be stressed here.[2] Information concerning children's prospects ought to stress the wider choice of job offered by the industrial milieu. Middle-aged parents in a rural area are faced with the fact that the children or youngsters may need to leave their native place to find good jobs. For such parents this may be a strong reason to decide to move themselves. Many parents are willing to pay the social and psychological cost of moving and adjusting to a new environment in order to give their children greater freedom to choose an occupation, while still keeping them at home or close to home.

Vocational guidance

As, in many countries, the provision of education occasions a greater economic strain in rural districts than in towns, there may be many rural people whose abilities and skills have not been fully developed. Although the current trend of the economic situation should be taken into account, the primary orientation of vocational guidance should be towards personal capabilities rather than labour market requirements, if dissatisfaction later on is to be avoided.

Vocational guidance for young people,[3] youth employment and counselling services for school children, and specialised advisory services for adults should be set up and extended, since they would do much to encourage and facilitate transition to other occupations. Vocational guidance and job information[4] are needed both in the sending and in the receiving community.

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1. In *France*, job information is provided by vocational training centres.

HENKELMANN, W., "Germany", in : *Suppl. to Final Report, International Seminar*, 1963-1, 141 : "In Germany (F.R.) the *placement service* has three functions in connection with vocational guidance :

a) it must ensure that every German is provided with as much information as possible concerning occupations and opportunities in such occupations. Job information is considered to be extremely important, since an individual can only make a real choice of occupations if he is fully informed about all of them ;

b) a second task is that of individual vocational guidance. Each individual is entitled to vocational guidance and to information about all occupational activities. In addition, if he wishes, he is entitled to undergo aptitude tests ;

c) the service for providing *trainee vacancies* works in close liaison with the *individual vocational guidance* services. The individual is free to refuse the traineeship offered."

In *Sweden*, a *Vacancy Journal* is published monthly, and general information about job-openings is also given by the press, radio and television. In addition job information is provided through the Employment Services activities.

2. In *Belgium* information on available jobs is given regularly on the radio.

3. VIMONT, C., *op. cit.*, 171.

"The vocational guidance provided for young people about to embark upon a course of training or choose a specialised occupation must take account not only of individual abilities but also of the probable trend of demand. If this is not done, young people will soon find themselves in a blind alley and forced to go on changing jobs until they find stable employment, sometimes after several depressing months of unemployment. Occupational mobility in such cases is an economic plague and a sheer wastage of young talent."

4. Vocational guidance activities are undertaken in *France* and *the Netherlands*. In *Germany* (F.R.) the unions have insisted that vocational guidance should be addressed particularly to the parents of young people in order to inform them about possibilities in different occupations.

However, in the United States, for example, "many rural areas have not been receiving a full measure of service from the employment security system because of remoteness from the nearest employment service office and the lack of local job opportunities with a consequent lack of placement potential. The residents of these areas have been at a disadvantage in seeking non-agricultural employment because of remoteness from metropolitan centres, inadequate general and vocational education, lack of specific knowledge of job opportunities, and general unfamiliarity with urban and industrial ways".[1]

In many areas, some economic expansion will appear feasible. "In areas where economic development appears inappropriate or unfeasible, the employment service efforts may be concentrated on the provision of counselling and placement services to facilitate out-migration".[2]

Proposals for measures to facilitate the movement of potential rural surplus manpower by providing information and guidance[3]

Nation-wide information about job vacancies and job information in industry is of great importance in encouraging rural workers to move from an area with surplus labour to an urban-industrial region where work is available. Moreover, general and individual communication and individual information should be available through different channels, for example:

a) *official (public and private) organisations,* economic, social and vocational guidance by pamphlets, interviewing, individual counselling; executed by:

b) competent staff and guidance officers or volunteers;

c) *mass media,* press, radio, television.

The aim of all communication must be to provide information at all levels, before the move, and after moving into the receiving community.

Individual differences call for *guidance* not only in the form of a booklet and oral guidance, but also special attention must be paid to emphasising the differences in the way of life and the necessity for an open mind and perseverance. Some factors such as wages, accommodation, social services, way of life and standard of living, should be stressed.

The population of the receiving community should also be prepared by appropriate information, etc., as this is an essential factor in facilitating adjustment.

The motivation and the decision to move are generally based on hopes of social and economic advancement and on dissatisfaction with advancement possibilities in agriculture.

The decision to migrate is not always based on sound information. In order to avoid dissatisfaction after migration, the migrant must be informed about the implications of the change involved in leaving agricultural for industrial work, the changes in his financial and social status, the changes in his way of life — changes which together or separately might never be fully accomplished if the motivation of the migrant is weak.

Another basic reason for more information and communication is that many rural people are often unaware of the possibilities for reconversion, training and help in finding jobs in industry.

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[1] *Handbook for Smaller Communities Programme, op cit.,* 3.

[2] *Ibid.,* 4.

[3] See Recommendations, Section III, 67.

Information through social and vocational guidance and careful selection by employment agencies can certainly contribute to reducing possible future tensions and dissatisfaction.

In general, the guidance counsellor, as well as the staff of the centre whose task is to prepare the documentation for both the counsellor and the aspirant rural migrant, should be persons of integrity with personal experience of some duration in social work. The humanitarian argument for first-class guidance officers or counsellors should carry most weight but it should also be noted that better guidance will undoubtedly diminish financial waste as well.

Proper information would also mean giving the market authorities and employment services, as well as all other institutions concerned, such resources in terms of numbers and skill of their staff that they could provide really efficient information for rural and other job-seekers and improve the appropriateness of each placement. In addition to information, financial support for the movement would be a useful measure to encourage mobility.

Individual differences demand detailed treatment. The most essential factors are :

- the personality of the migrant or the combined personalities of a family, religious background, family ties, and ages concerned ;
- the former occupation, present income and social position ;
- a friend or relative who could assist in the reception and adjustment of the migrant to industry ;
- present and future housing conditions ;
- psychological preparation for possible obstacles after arrival. This must not, however, be a dreary summing up of difficulties and obstacles, but a balanced treatment of the subject, challenging the strong and warning the weak.

Measures in the field of primary education

In some countries, the *education of the rural population is entirely inadequate* to prepare them for tasks in urban jobs or for the adjustment they will have to make to their new environment.

At primary, and even secondary schools, there ought to be a good opportunity to stimulate and facilitate migration of rural people's children after they have left school. Very little emphasis, however, has been laid on qualitative changes, or improving educational standards in rural areas. Improved standards of primary education in general, with some additional up-to-date technical training for the youngsters, would certainly be one of the best ways of facilitating the later adjustment of rural youngsters.

Measures to balance schooling

The ethical motive for raising the level of knowledge is that everybody has a right to education in accordance with his ability. The economic motive is that an incompletely educated population may represent a bottleneck to economic growth.[1] A general school education (State Schools) on the whole facilitates adjustment. A strong factor in preventing differences, would be an equivalent basic education level between rural and urban schools.

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[1] Correa, H., *op. cit.*, 107.
"The available statistical data are insufficient for attempting to measure the indirect contribution of education to production. However, the existence of an indirect contribution of education to production is verified, and some of its consequences are studied".

Educational requirements must be forecast, however, before a programme of education can be formulated, taking the following factors into consideration: the probable development of different means of livelihood; the age structure of the present educated population. This will enable an estimate to be made of the number of trained people who will be required to fill vacancies resulting from retirement in agriculture and the other sectors of the national economy.

Proposals for measures to prepare young rural people for life in industry and cities

The educational system of the secondary schools should become more industrially minded, and should, together with primary schools, provide a preparation for life in a society of rapid social and economic changes, and easier geographical interchange. More technical schools in rural areas would also be useful.

To give everyone a chance in a democratic society calls for the elimination of the various inequalities within a national general educational system.[6] Sufficient education to enable people to move if they choose to do so is part of a healthy economic life and may also contribute to maximum agricultural productivity.

Inside the schools the break-through might come from such sources as: the introduction of new teaching methods which must include preparation for modern life; improvement of the status of teachers through improved salaries and better working conditions, reduced class size, the same hours of teaching in urban and rural schools; localisation of secondary and technical schools, and [illegible]

Radio and television school programmes might serve as a supplement to the general education received or as a measure in the fight against illiteracy among migrant rural workers.

Training measures

Assistance and technical facilities for training or retraining surplus manpower, especially rural manpower, are among the most important measures for facilitating adjustment, and a major instrument in ensuring full utilisation of manpower resources. Moreover, training facilities can contribute to developing the real capacities of a man by giving him possibilities of advancement and promotion.[7]

Preparation for work in industry

Different measures have been taken for rural workers before and after movement to facilitate the formation of a suitable outlook and for technical occupational training in the use of specific techniques.[1] In some countries preparation for the new working conditions by vocational training has been considered as the individual's own problem; in others, measures in the field of vocational training sometimes overlap, and in other countries, vocational training possibilities are planned but the shortage of instructors is a serious handicap.[2]

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[6] Coombs, [illegible] and [illegible], "[illegible] Adaptation of Education", in: [illegible], 1964, [illegible] and [illegible], "Investment in Human Capital", in: The [illegible] Economic Review, [illegible], 1961, 1, 1-17.

[7] In France and in Norway, training and retraining of adults are considered as a matter to be handled by the authorities.

Training facilities for youths and adults

In the past in many countries the types of education and preparation for life given in schools varied considerably and had no clear objective, but in recent years this has changed. This change is characterised by the expression "The Occupation-Directed Youth School".[3] Every young person between 15 and 18 years old will now have a paid half-day off every week for visiting the Youth School.

In several countries, there are adult training facilities which include state school, local schools, and training during or after military service.[4] Although not established especially for their benefit, very many rural workers in the process of transition to non-agricultural occupations have been through one of these schools.

In providing these training facilities the adjustment aspect has been well to the fore. They constitute, with vocational training, a means of making the confrontation with an unfamiliar way of life less difficult.

In some countries *special training centres* in rural areas, in the cities[5] and for rural workers in an undertaking[6] have been set up by the Labour Market Authorities and firms for the occupational training of adults. These centres appear to produce useful results. The government shows interest, but factories and trade-unions could show more interest in these training possibilities.

In view of the need for more technical training, special technical schools in rural regions (to be attended after primary school) have been set up, which will enable every boy to receive technical training. Instead of going to industry directly after primary school, the youngsters can receive their vocational training in the rural regions, in regular contact with their parents.[7]

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[1] In the *United States*, under the *Area Development Act* through *State Employment Security Agencies*, training for rural workers (farm workers) is also sponsored. See int. al., Freedman, M., "The United States", in: *Suppl. to Final Report, International Seminar, 1963-4*, 105-108, and *ibid.* for *Italy*, 77-78; *Austria*, 112; *Belgium*, (collective training in centres), 120-121; *Denmark*, 132; *Germany (F.R.)*, 141 (vocational training and guidance); *Ireland*, 150; *The Netherlands*, 159-160; *Switzerland*, 175.

[2] For example in *Greece* and *Turkey*, see Turkey, *ibid.*, 180.
"Skilled workers, technicians and foremen are given the necessary training in Turkish vocational institutions. The training of workers by means of apprenticeship, however, has not yet been organised in this country. The number of students in technical and vocational schools and higher technical education institutions stood at 61,000 in 1962. The present economic development plan demands that this number be raised to 150,000 by 1967 — the conclusion of the first five year plan — and the government is now endeavouring to achieve this aim. Meanwhile, labour unions are also known to be undertaking similar activities."

[3] *Denmark* and *U.S.A.*

[4] *Denmark*, *France*, *Turkey*.

[5] E.g. *France*, the *Netherlands* and the *U.S.A.* (See the ARA programme.)

[6] E.g. *Greece*, in Athens.

[7] E.g. in the *Netherlands*.
"Trade-unions and employers associations take an active part in the management and development of vocational training. All three national confederations of labour unions are represented on the national board for vocational training. They are also represented on the national board for apprenticeship questions."

Vocational training courses enable rural adults to take up an industrial occupation.[1] These courses, normally lasting four to six months, are free of charge and in some cases minimum salaries are paid during training.

Training courses for unskilled workers, including rural workers, who want to enter industrial employment and to undergo the training necessitated by technological developments and labour market conditions, are another practical measure, provided there are job opportunities and that financial aid is given.[2] Evening or full-time courses are usual in many countries.

The French adult training system[3]

The entry of young people into the labour force is a subject of particular concern to the Ministry of Labour, which must bear in mind both population factors and the basic policy requirements for balanced employment.

These two factors have dictated the efforts to extend and vary adult vocational training, inclusive of young workers over 17 years of age.

The scheme's prime features are the following guide lines, designed to establish close liaison with industry and the labour market :

- — flexibility of the entire system to concur with labour market trends ;
- — application of training methods specifically designed for adults. These methods are developed by the National Vocational Training Institute in Paris. Highly factual courses and rational and essentially practical methods make it possible to provide very quick training (5 1/2 months for most first-stage specialisation) ;
- — certain facilities for trainees (allowances, lodging, rapid training), in order to make training accessible to all workers who need to learn a new skill ;
- — the Ministry of Labour, besides exercising control over the management of training centres, actively participates in shaping general trends of accelerated vocational training as determined by the aims of employment policy.

In addition to the ANIFRMO (National Interoccupational Association for the Rational Training of Manpower) centres, the Ministry of Labour subsidises or controls various private centres in industry which provide equivalent training.

Adult vocational training methods have in recent years been directed towards new and wider objectives. The Social Development Act of 31st July, 1959, provided the framework for the new measures which tend towards the diversification of forms of vocational training assistance. Besides the occupational training courses proper, full-time or part-time basic and advanced classes and courses for both skilled and highly skilled occupations and technical jobs have been organised. These courses in certain cases entitle the trainees to higher allowances than the primary courses.

Accelerated vocational training for adults

"Accelerated vocational training for adults does not claim to replace the traditional systems."[4]

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[1] E.g. the FPA Organisation in *France*, with about a thousand sections.

[2] E.g. in *Denmark*, (Act of 18th May, 1960).

[3] Based on information received by OECD, (document MO(63)17/08, 25th October, 1963).

[4] Marron, V., *Accelerated Vocational Training for Adults*, OECD, Paris, 1965, 9.

"Accelerated vocational training, rapid training, shortened training, adult vocational training, further training, vocational re-adaptation or rehabilitation — such are or were the principal titles given to a system of training which, under government auspices or with its assistance, helps adult workers to acquire, in a few months, knowledge which may enable them to occupy posts demanding a certain level of qualifications. Vocational training of limited duration — in comparison with the traditional training systems — was established earlier in many countries but it was of a transitional, occasional nature, meant for the re-absorption of the unemployed, the rapid adaptation of future migrants for new jobs."[1]

Accelerated vocational training courses are important for rural manpower moving to an industrial working environment but can only be effective if trades are taught specifically for expanding industries in the receiving community.

"On the other hand, when the policy is to counteract chronic unemployment in depressed areas by training courses, it does not have to face the same criticism as a national policy of rapid training for unemployed workers only."[2]

Training courses in the undertaking

Measures to facilitate training for work in industry have met with distrust from employers in some countries; in others, undertakings have organised vocational training possibilities. In the long run, an undertaking demands the same level of productivity from a rural worker as from a local worker and vocational training is, therefore, in their interest. If adults transfer to industry, they can sometimes follow a shortened training course in their villages, but often on-the-job training is also needed, and is an essential measure to facilitate adjustment to the new work.[3]

Apprenticeship of young people from rural areas is another measure organised by Labour Market authorities and firms. Experience has shown that rural trainees have the same capacities as town apprentices, but that they sometimes need a longer period of apprenticeship, owing to the lower standard of school education and the slower working pace in the country.

In many cases, however, industrial undertakings prefer to train young people since their experience has proved that training former rural adult workers is not always successful. Government-sponsored accelerated vocational training programmes can bridge this gap.[4]

Proposals for training measures in the sending and receiving communities

Training or re-training to prepare the transfer into the industrial milieu should be considered as one of the most essential measures. Public and private investment is needed for this. Different problems arise in training younger people as skilled workers and re-training older people.

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[1] Martin, V., op. cit., 13.

[2] Ibid., 25.

[3] In the Netherlands, for example, a large number of technical training courses are held in factories. In Sweden one of the industries has a three-year training-school for boys, mostly boys with a [illegible] background. There is also a Swedish firm which has technical training courses of six to eight weeks for beginners, and, in addition, one week's special training on the production machine which the worker is going to operate. In Germany (F.R.) the migration of rural workers has been a continuous process, and it has been possible to settle the problem within the existing framework of the very large number of training schemes which are carried out voluntary by the industrial enterprises.

[4] Martin, V., op. cit., 73 et seq.

"One important element of an active manpower policy is to see that human resources are developed to such an extent that the achievement of desired rates of technological change will not be impeded through lack of workers with suitable skills. To a great extent, training opportunities are provided by employers, but public authorities must see to it that total training capacity is adequate for the economy as a whole."[1]

The type of training needed is only partly occupational. It is, of course, primarily important for migrants to acquire the maximum skill needed for their new jobs, and the more closely the skill needed can be defined the better.

However, social training aimed directly at the adjustment of the migrant is of no less importance. This training must explain the norms and characteristics of both the new working and the new living milieu.

Special reference should also be made to the possibility of training to prepare the move during military service.

The general need for good instructors must be particularly stressed.

Change in attitude[2]

Practical measures in the receiving community[3] may make it possible to influence and change attitudes. The rural worker is undergoing a change in his attitude from the old to the new socio-economic and cultural environment which will facilitate the whole process of adjustment. The receiving population is also undergoing a change, and might be influenced in their possibly hostile attitude to the newcomer.

Preparation and information of the local population, both at work and in the district where they live, through the community, the churches, and all other social and political organisations, must stress that the rural newcomer is a citizen among citizens and represents a valuable contribution to the social and economic welfare in general.

If the migrant has few contacts with people in the receiving community, he will feel isolated and will be thrown back on the company of other migrants and marginal groups.

Social, vocational and general guidance for migrant workers, and socio-pedagogical services, can help, but the migrant himself must co-operate in adapting to new modes of living. This involves a change of attitude and a change in his psychic structure which sometime reflects the whole former group-life and sub-culture of the migrant.

Change in attitudes of individuals

It is evident that measures to influence people's actions and reactions must influence their personal attitude, for example if the change tends to be slow. Measures to achieve a change in attitude to adjustment may be advisable in the *following situations* :

a) *Inconsistent situation.* A migrant worker feels disorientated, his actions are likely to lack stability and then his efforts to adjust are directed to wrong objectives. In a situation of this kind, though attitudes are in evidence, they lack clear lines on which to be developed ;

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[1] *Recommendation of the Council on Manpower Policy as a Means for the Promotion of Economic Growth, op. cit.*, 6.

[2] Ten Haaren, J.A., *Attitude Change. A Dynamic Process*, The Hague, 1966, (Ministry for Social Work).

[3] See Recommendation 6, Section III, 47.

b) *Situations which develop too slowly* call for action in the right direction to shorten the process, but situations may arise in which it is hardly possible for any action at all to be taken.

c) *In rapidly changing situations* in an industrial-urban environment, the attitude must change to more intensity. It must be mentioned, however, that it is not only social measures which influence the attitude. Economic measures, material interests, may serve to hasten a change of attitude but may also be an obstacle : a change for the better in the economic position can certainly help to solve attitude problems more rapidly and effectively.

Change in attitudes of groups

Certain obstacles to changing group attitudes, which consequently call for special measures, originate in fixed relations between groups and group members. In such a situation, former group members, friends or acquaintances among migrants working at the same plant or living in the same community would be the best people to be contacted and used to alter these too fixed relations. They will be able to reach the group more easily, which may contribute to achieving at least a gradual change in its attitudes.

To change the "image", the ideas which form part of a group's cultural attitude, is easier. In this respect the group's background — the knowledge of the group — is important, whether traditional or rational. Widening the knowledge of a group with rational ideas can effect drastic changes. Once a group has accepted rational instead of traditional knowledge, it recognizes the shortest way to achieve a change in its attitudes. Over the years the values of a group then become the customs and ideas which happened to be introduced by rational knowledge.

The technical aspects of the process of attitude change

Any measures taken to facilitate the attitude change are ultimately judged by the success or failure they encounter with the people concerned. It would be inadmissible, therefore, for organisations and social workers to take measures unless the envisaged change promoted an appropriate adjustment of the behaviour of individuals or groups to the objective demands of social development. Since it is not possible to establish the order in which these factors will occur in a situation, any rules will have to be couched in general terms, and the less left to intuition and improvisation, the better the preparation for the practical work.

Practical experience has proved many factors to be of strategic importance. It is not possible, however, to give a clear-cut instruction suited to every situation. The social worker or organisation concerned will have to be very careful in communicating ideas for attitude change and will have to size up the situation for himself.

A special training programme (to some extent, a change in attitude programme)[1] has been worked out in France to test the adaptability of young rural workers to the industrial, and eventually to the urban, way of life. This programme was tried out with twelve young rurals. The idea behind this programm is to confront these people with the reality, by demonstrating to them : condition of work in non-agricultural occupations, training possibilities, the urban way o life, and its system of values.

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[1] "Préparation de la Main-d'œuvre d'origine agricole au Monde Industriel. Session [illegible] de l'Orne", p. [illegible]

This programme will be implemented by :

- Visits to industrial undertakings where they talk to workers, after a introductory talk by an executive ;
- A working group, where the young rurals can discuss the new condition between themselves and with representatives of industry ;
- Role-changing (this method can only be used if the circumstances ar auspicious) — where the young rurals will play in turn the part of agricultural workers and industrial workers — might enable an evolutio in attitudes ;
- Case analyses, which may make them aware of this "foreign" worl and meals at the homes of workers in the undertakings visited.

After this, the young rural workers should be in a position to make a comparison between working and living conditions in agriculture and in industr and decide whether or not they will be able to accept the new way of life.

Social welfare measures

The newcomer must become autonomous, and when this is achieved he wil be adjusted to industrial work and urban life. Social welfare measures ar restricted and cannot be continued over a long period.

Differences in outlook

The important roles of *social guidance information* in general, *social worke* in the municipality, *religious and humanitarian organisations* and *trade unio* and their influence on the adjustment process of rural workers have alread been mentioned. They help to find answers to the main questions arising in th receiving community. There are considerable differences in the outlooks an interests of social welfare institutions in the same country or community, bu these differences enable the migrant worker and his wife to make their ow choice in accepting help.

In some countries social welfare measures are not needed, for there are on small differences in community life between the different parts of the countr. The homogeneous character of a country will make migration and adjustmen very simple[1] because distances are short. Nevertheless it has been observed th the countries with the least problems have taken the largest number of measure. The preparation and selection of qualified social workers, either voluntary employed by the government, municipalities, private enterprise, or private organisations, is very important. They must have special personal characteristics, an be qualified for case-work, group work and community organisation. They mu also be well-informed about the particular problems arising in their task f

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1. In *Austria* there are no public discussions on adaptation problems in connectio with the change of occupation ; the process of adjustment is often very slow and tak place in stages.

Denmark is a country with a homogeneous geographical and social structure, an problems of adaptation from rural to other occupations are deemed in general to very small.

helping migrant rural workers and their wives and children in their adjustment. In addition, a great deal of theoretical knowledge on the subject will be necessary.

The social worker at work

The social worker's job is to give information and assist with practical advice on the following: information on churches, religious instruction for children, and religious assistance in the new community; housing and lodging conditions; social welfare institutions; centres for social, cultural and leisure activities and sports; in the interests of good adjustment at work, an exact description of the job, wages, security, the function of the trade-unions, and information about the use of welfare institutions sponsored or set up by the undertakings should be given.

Social workers from churches, charitable, and private welfare organisations provide more specialised information and assistance, such as: information about the social activities of these organisations, church services, etc.; community and social welfare centres in the quarter; information about the daily way of life in the new environment; help and advice in family questions (especially for the wife); visiting the rural worker and his family and advising them in the use of modern household-equipment, the use of social information services, etc.

The *trade-unions* can also play an essential role in the adjustment process, which should not be underestimated, mainly in the field of: anticipation of discrimination at work and in the new community; protection of the former rural worker's rights and helping better and closer relations with both other workers and supervisors[1]; encouragement of vocational training[2] and information about promotion at work.

On the same level as trade unions, and usually in collaboration with workers organisations, *employers associations*, management, etc., play a similar, essential role in the above-mentioned fields.

Social services and social welfare expenditure for rural workers in the new community should ensure a minimum level of material welfare for all regardless of their capacity or opportunity to contribute to productivity.[3]

Material and individual insecurity in the new environment is a serious maladjustment factor. Measures and steps taken in the receiving community must help to avoid insecurity, dissatisfaction, and in some cases discrimination.

Many urban communities, however, do not orientate their social welfare apparatus to adjustment problems.[4] Social welfare services must deal not only with the many problems and conditions which stand in the way of adjustment of the rural migrants in the city, but also with education, vocational training, guidance and many other matters.

The work of the different organisations involved should be co-ordinated, and cover, among other problems: *health*, as a central factor in the newcomer's

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[1] [illegible], W., *op. cit.* 28. "The most serious conflicts seem to be situated at the lowest supervisory level, that is to say in the relations between the workers and their immediate superiors, with whom they are in daily contact."

[2] In *Germany* (F.R.) the unions are working for better financial state support for training. This would cover at least part of the costs for rural youths who have to live in apprentice homes (*Lehrlingsheimen*) in the cities (see also Section II, 3d).

[3] [illegible], W., *op. cit.*, 26. "The integration of the workers into the factory is... substantially affected by the difference in view-points between the management and the employees."

[4] The following is based on: [illegible], E., "Social Welfare Planning", in: *The Annals*, Philadelphia, 1964, 352, 119-128.

welfare ; *preparation* for and *adjustment* to city life ; *information on educational possibilities ;* the *school system* (primary and secondary), as an important factor in accelerating the rate at which the children of rural workers can be absorbed into the urban environment ; *housing* and *living conditions.*

Human relations[1]

The process of fitting the former rural worker into community life is, without doubt, primarily a problem of improved human relations — a question which is being given increasing importance in our society. Steps are being taken to change old-fashioned norms and attitudes in relations between employers and the labour force, in communities, etc.

If successful measures are to be taken to facilitate the adjustment of rural workers, information given to citizens in the receiving community must stress the equality between "old" inhabitants and the newcomers.

Measures for reception and temporary housing of both young and older rural migrants

Reception centres

Reception centres in both the receiving community[2] and the new working environment, are useful to facilitate entry and adjustment. The urban-industrial environment, and the opportunities for better work and recreation have a special appeal to the young who move, however, not only for financial advantages and adventure, but also to escape the isolation of the countryside with its social barriers. Reception centres and settlement houses, hostels, etc.[3] might be a useful preparation for the new way of life for both younger migrants and older migrants and their families. They provide opportunities for an exchange of opinions between different groups, and could represent one of the first stages in the gradual bridging of the social distance.

Hostels for rural youngsters

The system of hostels for rural youngsters — with established contacts between the parents and the hostel authorities — is an example of measures which have been taken in order to make the adjustment of rural youngsters to the urban-industrial milieu easier.[4] The hostels are installed in the location where the rural youngsters work. With the help of youth organisations, contact is established with the parents before arrival, as many parents are afraid of sending their children away to industrial occupations in the city. Social workers and instructors are in charge of the hostels.

The "foyer"[5] *— boarding-house and meeting centre*

The creation of the "foyer" to house young rural people in the city, which also provides sporting, cultural and educational activities and enables them to establish relations with the local population, leads to adjustment in a relatively short time. The part played by the people in charge of such a "foyer" is a determining factor.

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[1] Section II, 50.

[2] For example, in Paris, see *Survey on practical policies and measures, France,* OECD, Paris, 1966, p. 16.

[3] The United States.

[4] In the Netherlands.

[5] France, *op. cit.*, 23. The "Lehrlingsheime" in Germany (F.R.) probably also belong to this group.

Social centres for migrant workers in the receiving community, such as those established in several countries by the public health authorities or by private organisations, are also a means towards facilitating adjustment. Rural workers find a place to spend their leisure and to make friends in such centres, as well as in cafés and centres for cultural activities.[1]

Associations for migrants from the same rural regions can be useful in making them feel at ease in the city. Here they can meet and talk to former migrants who are already absorbed and completely accepted in the community. But in certain cases they might isolate the newcomer from the local population and so delay adjustment.

Community centres

Reception and contact meetings, and special programmes (e.g. community singing, folk-dancing, amateur dramatics, etc.) arranged by community councils[2] should also be mentioned among adjustment measures.

The purpose of a community centre (which may be run by a church) is to help people to make friends, to provide them with entertainment, to widen their education (by lectures and libraries) and to awaken their civic interest in the good of the community as a whole and their neighbourhood in particular.

The contacts made through these centres will help the newcomer and his family to be less isolated, and will make meeting neighbours at home or in the street easier. The centres are particularly useful for wives.

Measures for rural workers' children

Among other measures, there is a plan for the formation of parent groups focussed on bringing up children. Volunteer workers and trained staff can help in handling children's disciplinary and school problems. *Neighbourhood study clubs*[3] provide room often lacking in their own homes for the children to study and read.

Better housing

The difficulty of finding accommodation is often the major problem in adjustment. The growth of districts which are ultimately inhabited exclusively by migrants, either because they chose to settle there or for other reasons, is a serious handicap to adjustment. In many cases, however, the housing shortage is not the only reason why some districts are inhabited exclusively by migrants. The migrant sometimes distrusts the townsman, and the townsman the migrant. They are rivals at work. The migrants therefore tend to keep to themselves, not only because of regional affinities or chain migration, but because they are often looked down on as "proletarians" by the townsmen. The housing shortage is, nevertheless, the main problem in practically all Western European countries.[4]

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1. In *France* (by public health authorities), in *Norway* (by a private organisation).
2. For example, in the United States and the Netherlands.
3. In some big cities in the United States.
4. Vrancken, G., op. cit., 175.

Bad housing conditions can cause psychic and physical illnesses, and to a large extent influence the development of tensions in community life.

Whether it is decided to build special types of dwellings for rural workers in the town, or whether newcomers are left to their own devices and allowed to find their way either to a modern block of flats or to a slum, housing is a fundamental factor in adjustment to town life. The dwelling is a place of rest for the factory worker and his family which they need in order to adjust to living in the town and to all that is strange. But many dwellings are too small, noisy and overcrowded for families to live there without constraint. The provision of adequate housing conditions for all workers in industry is one of the most important measures to facilitate their adjustment. Parks and sports grounds in the vicinity provide recreation possibilities which are also an important contribution to adjustment, especially in the field of personal contacts.[1] Mothers with children playing in a park will make contacts easily with other mothers, whereas children playing in the street without supervision are sometimes a source of conflict with the neighbours.

Measures to transfer rural manpower from "shanty-towns" and from "hovel districts"

One of the first actions to facilitate adjustment of rural workers and their dependants must be the transfer of the population of "shanty-towns" to new housing estates. The same applies to the "hovel districts" although the conditions there are somewhat more tolerable than in the "shanty-towns".[2] Regional and city building activities cannot, however, keep step with the demand for houses.

Provision of housing facilities. Assistance in finding accommodation

The exodus of people from the countryside to urban-industrial expanding areas, with increasing difficulties in finding housing, is a very serious problem. The lack of adequate housing is on the other hand, a great obstacle to mobility.[3] Thus, the provision of housing facilities would be a practical measure to stimulate mobility and at the same time to facilitate adjustment.

The public Labour Exchanges[4] and public authorities and employers, could help to solve or at least relieve, the question of housing. The migrant with temporary living accommodation must be registered directly after arrival for a permanent apartment, e.g. with the help of a co-operative house-building and management organisation. Employers could give considerable support to such co-operative housing projects. But there is a housing shortage even in countries with an efficient housing policy designed to provide accommodation at reasonable prices for all.

In many countries housing is not given priority among the other objectives in public policy, and housing policy for the low-income population lacks clarity. Even if the government has intervened in local housing programmes and in the co-ordination and planning of social welfare measures to solve housing problems, some of these functions could be delegated to private organizations (trade unions, churches, humanitarian, etc.) which might help by cooperative house-building associations, etc. Measures could also be taken to develop new and different uses for housing in older quarters. Very often a slight change, e.g. in the hygiene situation, could transform these districts into good housing for the newcomers who are perhaps more accustomed to older quarters. Modern buildings with uniform streets, structures, and designs are often less appreciated by former rurals.

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[1] There is a shortage of housing in Scandinavia, but this is mostly due to the high standards required. [illegible], op. cit., 109.

[2] Turkey, *Survey on Practical Policies and Measures,* (OECD), Paris, 1966, p. [illegible], (in Turkish).

[3] In Norway, for example, the authorities are aiming at increasing the amount of state housing loans for regions experiencing the most rapid expansion.

[4] As, for example, in Denmark.

The planning of new housing projects, schools, hospitals, etc., and a policy for financing them, is necessary. Special reference should be made to the case of an industry moving into the country and the possibility of financial incentives for the new workers to stay in and to improve the standards of their old homes, possibly by do-it-yourself activities.

In order to create a good social climate between newcomers and locals, especially in big new housing projects, the idea that housing priority is being given to newcomers must, however, be avoided.

Spreading workers of rural origin and mixing types of houses in new districts

Spreading rural workers over different districts of the city might be a necessary measure to avoid concentration according to social status in certain areas; it can also stimulate social and personal contacts with local inhabitants and thus contribute to preventing isolation, estrangement, and loneliness.

Mixing different types of houses in a new district might be another way of introducing newcomers to locals, and shorten the adjustment process, as they will grow together into a normal urban-industrial type of population in the new district. The same remarks apply to housing provided by employers.

The goal of improving the residential environment of rural migrants and lower income families must take priority in planned building activities. (For example, satellite cities).

Housing accommodation for workers in industry in rural regions

Industry in the country generally has no difficulties in housing its workers. The industrial, former rural worker, can go on living in the old house or in a new one in the old community. Close co-ordination of the process of industrialization and the construction of new houses in a given area, together with the modernization of houses already owned by former rural workers, may be important. Sufficient housing must, of course, be provided for by regional planning.

Transportation problems may arise if geographical distances between communities and work are too big, and in this case transport facilities will be required.

Measures for leisure[1]

Changes in the ratio of working and leisure time must also be considered in the larger framework of general measures to facilitate adjustment of former rural workers.

In the country leisure time and work time are usually indistinguishably interwoven. In the modern industrialised community, leisure and the values associated with it, have a tendency to be separated from the values associated with work.[2]

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[1] See Recommendation [illegible], Section [illegible]

[2] Anderson, N., op. cit. [illegible]

In general, urban leisure activities are more commercial than rural ones. Interests are more closely identified with the personality of the individual in an urban-industrial environment. As a rural worker and his family enter an urban-industrial environment, they should retain the social and leisure customs of the countryside, relinquishing them only gradually as they make new friends. But many rural workers in industry, unless they can fall back on well-established leisure patterns in their home neighbourhoods, are likely to feel lonely, to find themselves [illegible] and seek solace in unwholesome activities.

A programme for the utilisation of leisure time might, therefore, be useful for many rural workers in industry. With the co-operation of various public and private organisations, small areas in the neighbourhood might be turned into allotment gardens, playgrounds and parks.

Co-operation and co-ordination can result in the maximum use being made of existing facilities. In this connection, the question of the wise use of holidays is important. There is a wide divergence in the concept of holidays between rural and urban people. In fact, many agricultural workers do not take holidays at all. As they move into industry they have to acquire a new perspective of holidays, and guided as to the maximum benefit which can be drawn from them.

Trade union measures for leisure activities

The unions can do a lot towards the adjustment of rural workers by solving practical problems of all kinds, not only at work but also in their leisure time by introducing them into clubs and sports activities.[1]

Employers' measures for leisure activities

Employers should help to develop good attitudes among their employees to both work and leisure without being paternalistic. They should, together with trade unions and other appropriate organisations, provide measures and facilities for the newcomer to benefit from the leisure time.

Clubs, sports grounds, libraries, cultural entertainment facilities, organisation of courses for further educational development and many other activities sponsored by the undertakings are positive measures for the adjustment of their workers,[2] provided that they are completely optional.

Holidays

Care must be taken by employers and trade unions that holidays are used for recreation. In the future, as a result of the fundamental changes in social values, planning to ensure balanced and adequate leisure and holidays throughout the year might be needed.

ADJUSTMENT PROBLEMS IN INDUSTRY IN RURAL REGIONS

For various social and economic reasons, governments do not always consider rural-urban-industrial movements as the sole solution for the utilisation and mobilisation of surplus manpower in agriculture. Another solution is to provide productive employment in industry or other occupations (e.g. tourism) near or in their home communities, although the initial cost is sometimes higher than that of moving surplus rural workers to an urban-industrial environment. However, the growing intensity of road traffic and the demands on public transport will influence industrial regional development more and more.

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[1] In Norway, a company [illegible]

[2] Thus in Norway, a company [illegible]

If the rural population is familiar with industrial life, as a result of past economic development, then going to an expanding industry is not so great a change. This is, of course, very much the case if the new industrial worker can stay in his old house or find a new one in his old community.

Regional planning

Implanting industries with good economic prospects in rural areas with surplus labour can help to brake, if necessary, the growing outflow of rural populations. The *Netherlands* government has adopted a policy of regional development and by decentralising industry is effecting a more evenly distributed population within the country. "The renewal of the regional policy was not only concerned with industrialisation. In other fields also promotional activities took place. Among other things, more attention was paid to an improvement in living conditions in the area and tourist accommodation was stimulated by means of subsidies."[1]

In *Norway,* diversified economic development in certain rural areas is promoted for the purpose of stemming the outflow of population from such areas.[2]

In *Austria* for some regions "substantial aid has been provided from public funds to improve the infrastructure (roads and communications) in these regions, and financial and tax concessions have been granted for the establishment of industries".[3]

In a few countries there are special information services to advise on siting new industries.

In *Italy,* "For attainment of the stated aim of reducing regional disparities, definition of action within a regional development policy is essential. For the last ten years, the economic policy of the nation has been directed towards this objective. It has so far been successful in not accentuating the existing disparities between advanced and retarded areas".[4]

In *Denmark* "According to the law concerning regional planning, the establishment of works and factories may be supported in areas with little or no industry but with available manpower".[5]

In *Germany* (F.R.) the Bundesanstalt "advises both governments and firms on the establishment of industries in new areas".[6]

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[1] REYNAERTS, W.H.J., "The Netherlands", in : *Suppl. to Final Report, International Seminar,* 1963-1, 157.

[2] "Programmes aimed at influencing Internal Migration and Population", in : *Population Bulletin,* Washington D.C., 1964, 20, 6, 171.

[3] REITHOFER, H., "Austria", in : *Suppl. to Final Report, International Seminar,* 1963-1, 113.

[4] MERLI BRANDINI, P., "Italy", in : *op. cit.,* 76.

[5] OLSEN JENSEN, E., "Denmark", *ibid.,* 133.

[6] HENKELMANN, W., *op. cit.,* 143.

In *Ireland*, "It is official policy to encourage the establishment of new industries in what are termed 'development areas' from which traditionally there has been heavy emigration".[1]

In *France*, creating employment in rural areas of under-employment is one of the principal objectives of the territorial re-organisation policy. It is effected by a group of aids granted to firms which decentralise. Experience has shown the disadvantages of measures of "powdering" firms over the country. The re-organisation policy has evolved in the direction of more and more convergent actions ; (*a*) concentrating action on particularly needy zones, creating jobs for men and women simultaneously ; (*b*) developing industrial settlements in the light of urban poles of attraction ; (*c*) regionalisation of the Plan in order to solve the problems of re-organisation in greater detail.

Measures for adjustment to work in industry in rural regions

Continuous work, collective work, surroundings and adjustment to the machine in a factory in the country are likely to raise the same adjustment problems as those in an urban-industrial environment. Consequently the same adjustment measures can be applied in both cases.[2]

The economic adjustment, social and cultural distance in relation to the rest of the country may vary in different rural areas, but the problems of adjustment to work are, generally speaking, the same as in any industry. At first there are very few family and housing problems, or problems of individual and group adjustment to a new environment, but they may arise if differences in attitudes of the rural population increase essentially and significantly.

The transplantation of rural manpower to industry in an *underdeveloped* area, however, can raise human problems.[3] Integration into the factory is, at least in the beginning, relatively easy. Confirmation of permanent employment is a security factor for many ex-rural workers. A drawback is the fact that the rural worker tends to overestimate his own capacities and thinks that the new things he has learned in the technological field justify immediate upgrading. This is typical of the cultural pattern in underdeveloped areas, where "anybody" can do "any" job efficiently.

A basic problem is the worker's attitude towards factory discipline. Neither the working rate nor discipline are understood as necessities, but tend to be regarded as forms of oppression. Those used to work in the fields and as casual labourers have had to overcome enormous psychological difficulties in becoming accustomed to punctuality, monotonous work, and steady attendance. The most futile reasons (rain, birthdays, etc.) cause substantial absenteeism[4] "... in the case in which an industrial firm starts fresh operations in an area or moves to an area where labour is available..., certain problems, such as the general process of assimilation, contact with former home districts and perhaps the housing question, will be simpler. Others again, e.g. retraining and the fact that the bulk of the labour force is unaccustomed to industrial work, can give rise to greater difficulties from the firm's point of view."[5]

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1. MACGOUGAN, J., op. cit., 150.
2. TERPSTRA, R., N.V. Gloeilampenfabrieken, Drachten, Netherlands : in *Supp. to Final Report, International Seminar*, 1963-4, 24-32.
3. VIGORELLI, P., *The Sincat Company, Italy ; Ibid.*, 17-23.
4, VIGORELLI, P., *Ibid.*, 19.
5. TALAMO. M., *op cit.*, 17.

The rural worker feels crippled and cannot break down the barrier between his rural background and industrial work, if he still has a hankering for agricultural life. For these workers the industrial phase may be merely transitional.[1]

Measures for information, guidance, etc., to induce surplus population in a more or less underdeveloped agricultural environment to change to another occupation can only be successfully applied by specialised persons or agencies with knowledge of the agricultural world, and with some experience of influencing the behaviour of the rural population. If the preparation for a change of occupation were left to some organisation totally unacquainted with the agricultural sector, the rural population's attitude to the problem might be expected to harden.[2]

Step-over function of industry in rural regions

In some countries the movement of rural people is generally from the country to the nearest industry (mostly building and construction), and from there, after some years, the step to the city follows. This gradual mobility of rural workers does not as a rule raise any adjustment problems in the city.

It must not be forgotten that adjustment problems also arise for the urban worker who is necessary to the industrial undertaking in a rural region.[3]

Implanting industries in the country can therefore contribute to facilitating adjustment problems : these problems are much more simple, or at least not experienced in all their harshness, for a rural worker does not go direct to the city but uses an industrial undertaking in his area or in a smaller town as a half-way house.

Social and cultural adjustment problems

Social and cultural development must go hand in hand with the industrial development of a rural area. The absence of sports grounds, a library, a cultural centre and facilities for entertainment and recreation might be a serious handicap for the adjustment of skilled and technical workers from an urban-industrial environment who are needed for the development of industry in rural areas.

"It was stressed at Wiesbaden that the important aspect of the case studies presented is the possibility their examination offers of revealing the cultural discontinuity between rural and industrial societies, and the problems connected with it. Certain questions were put, whose answers would provide valuable indications of the action that should be taken : in view of the frustration and lack of adaptation revealed by certain cases, is sufficiently deep study being undertaken to throw light on such situations ? Do firms adapt their policies to suit the needs of their environment ? Do firms undertake any study of their own action in favour of adaptation ?[4]

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1. SERVOZ, P., *in Supp. to Final Report, International Seminar*, 1963-4, 40.
2. LOUET, R., *The French Department of Eure-et-Loir*, Ibid., 55.
3. SERVOZ, P. *Ibid.*, 36. "The Paris staff have to face the problem of being cut off from their usual environment and way of living and having to adapt themselves to a very new setting and way of life. There was also the question of housing... It will be readily understood that such a radical change of living conditions did not proceed without heart searchings. Everybody became homesick for Paris and 16 families lost heart and went back."
4. TALAMO, M., *op. cit.*, 30-31.

SUMMARY OF THE MAIN DETERMINANTS FOR ADJUSTMENT MEASURES[1]

As has been frequently stated above, the problems of adjustment depend on the degree of economic, social, and cultural distance. The greater the distance, the greater the problems which may arise.

The degree of formality of measures

Individual measures are needed for single persons, family units, and a relatively small number of migrants.

Collective measures are necessary for a large number of migrants to an urban-industrial environment, and in the case of continuous migration formal measures are necessary.

Informal individual measures together with *formal* measures will be useful to avoid tensions which may occur if some members of a bigger group cause difficulties within that group.

It must be stressed, however, that the degree of formality of the institutions and organisations involved in the arrangements and measures to facilitate adjustment depends to a large extent on the distance to be bridged. Human aspects will play a greater role if the distance is big : more formal treatment will not do any harm if the distance is small.

Basis for all measures : newcomers and receiving community

The personal characteristics of both the migrants and the people in the receiving community constitute the basis for all measures and arrangements to facilitate and shorten adjustment. The worker must be convinced that working in industry is working in a community of people and not only in a strict mass organisation. The people in the receiving community must be convinced that rural workers have an essential contribution to make to the progress and well-being of the community as a whole.

In general, the former way of life of the workers and his family is the basis determining whether they will fit in well in the new environment. A certain selection may be needed, and, although in some cases people may lack the ability for certain work or a particular environment, the transfer of people who will fit in is in the interests of both the newcomer and the receiving community. In some countries a psychological and psycho-technical test is a means of placing the worker and avoiding adjustment problems.[2]

The willingness of the migrant to adjust

It is in general true that when rural people migrate to industry they entertain ideas of becoming identified with the economic, social, and cultural life in the receiving community. This is probably true even if they are not welcomed there. The position of the migrants in an urban-industrial environment is likely to be a subordinate one, and, in the beginning at least, their presence is often only tolerated because of this. However, migrants who accept subordinate positions believe that they will only be temporary, or that, if they themselves cannot rise to a higher economic and social level, their children or grandchildren might do so. Rising, however, means overcoming obstacles and barriers which, in the course of time, tend to be lowered, and are likely to be lowered sooner in a big modern industrial environment than in a smaller one.

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[1] See above, Section I. — Definition of adjustment. — Economic, social and cultural distance to be bridged between migrants and local population — Social contacts, and Section II. — Measures to facilitate adjustment.

[2] ANDERSON, N., *op. cit.*, 176 ff.

Adjustment to open group behaviour in the modern community

In the modern urban-industrial community the individual can hardly become integrated with the work and the way of life in general unless he joins with others who have the same interests, objectives and capabilities. This type of community functions largely in terms of open group behaviour. The rural migrant must adjust to these terms, otherwise he will become isolated in urban-industrial life.

Rural migrants may become a critical group in the receiving community: this will happen if their inflow is voluminous and they are unqualified for work in industry, and thus become part of marginal groups.

Here also, the distance between the new community and the former milieu comes to the fore. The modern urban-industrial environment cannot function on the rural level of training. Only labourers' jobs are available to those with eight years or less schooling, but in general even a labourer finds it useful to have had more. The skilled worker needs at least eight years education and three or four years special training in addition.[1] If the rural worker has passed a certain point of education, he is likely to be stimulated to enter the urban-industrial environment in search of a better occupation and to join a group with his own educational and occupational status.

The aim of all measures is to facilitate and hasten absorption, integration, acceptance, and, where desirable, acculturation and assimilation.

It would be more or less wishful thinking to imagine that distances will be reduced to nil, but at least *integration* should be achieved, i.e. the former rural worker and his wife and dependants should accept the new social, economic and cultural ways of life and, at least to some degree, be accepted by the receiving community.

Many generations of rural people have finally been assimilated into urban life, but often with extreme difficulty. The consciousness of social responsibilities today and the need for economic growth, together with the usually positive attitude of workers' and employers' organisations, make adjustment easier and less painful and imperative.

On the trade-union side it is stated that: "It is right that geographical mobility should be facilitated in the interests of economy. But we should be quite clear that there are strict limitations on such geographical mobility, since frequent changes of residence have adverse *human* and *psychological* effects on the worker and even on his family."[2]

On the employers side it is pointed out that "from the viewpoint of an overall economic policy, it may be advisable to include migration" although "...the degree of mobility generally depends upon several factors, such as age, family status, social relations, cultural and educational background, material ties (house, land), expectations and possibilities at new place of work, etc... These complex social, cultural and psychological factors seem to play an important role in geographical mobility and particular emphasis should be devoted to them before undertaking specific measures".[1]

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[1] Anderson, N., *op. cit.*, 376.

[2] Beermann, H., "The Trade Union Attitude towards an active Manpower Policy", in: *Final Report, International Seminar*, 1963-1, 147.

See also: Jeanne, P., "Role of the Trade Unions in connection with Geographical and Occupational Mobility", in: *Final Report, International Seminar* 1963-3.

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[1] SCHLOTFELDT, Walter, "The Role of the Employers' Organisations in Geographical and Occupational Mobility", in : *Final Report, International Seminar, 1963-3*, 183.

Section III

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

INTRODUCTION

In the previous sections we have tried to compile a concise collection of current knowledge and practical measures concerning adjustment. It was not always possible to avoid overlapping of the different items, and the report is neither complete nor perfect, but we have tried to give some idea of the complexity of the problem.

However, since an active manpower policy is now being developed in many advanced industrial countries, and in others the best methods of achieving "Full Productive and Freely Chosen Employment" in the interests of economic growth and the improvement of the well-being of the community are being sought, the foregoing may indicate steps, which are being or can be taken, to facilitate the process of adjustment.

As far as possible, the role of the government, the local community, employers, trade unions, non-governmental, social, and religious groups has been defined. The multiplicity and complexity of the subject, and difficulty of defining social distances, renders the extent of measures taken or to be taken unlimited, particularly in view of the moral and ethical aspects involved.

"Humanism and humanitarianism have become economic imperatives. The new philosophies and methods of social and even corporate accounting have pinpointed the high returns on investments in improvements in human resources. The bridge between social and economic policy has been finally built. Approved social and ethical values can now be translated into positive economic gains. The next challenge is to incorporate them into the routine operations of the market."[1]

Any attempt to classify national policies must necessarily be of a tentative nature and is undertaken here primarily as a way of summarising actual situations. Such a classification may be given — in accordance with social and economic development and depending on whether or not there are agricultural regions with a labour surplus — to countries with, for example, the following "theoretical" structure :

a) *highly industrialised countries,* well-developed socially and economically, with no, or relatively few, over-populated regions. Social, economic and cultural distances may be non-existent, or exist only in a few regions with strong traditional ties. The size of the countries and the date of their industrialisation may be important factors. This type of country usually takes great interest in the mobility of labour and the utilisation of the relatively low surplus manpower, combined with regional planning and (if necessary) development ;

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[1] BARKIN, S., "The Manpower Policies of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development", reprint from : *Business Topics,* Autumn, 1963.

b) *highly industrialised countries with relatively many manpower surplus regions* and a high average out-flow rate. In these countries there is a growing interest in the implementation of a manpower mobility policy combined with regional planning on a national scale.

c) *countries in full economic and social development* with relatively large rural or mountain manpower surplus regions, interested in both facilitating out-mobility and in regional planning — the latter to avoid the formation of over-large industrial-urban concentrations.

d) *countries aiming at, or in the first phases of, industrialisation*, with a high percentage of surplus rural manpower, which demonstrate a growing interest in the implementation of an active manpower policy and the development of their social and economic infrastructures. This usually requires long-term planning, including planning in the field of education.

In practically all countries concerned, however, the proportion, of gainfully employed persons in agriculture (farmers, farmers' sons, salaried workers, and members of the farmers' own families) is steadily declining, with significant differences between the various countries.[1]

RECOMMENDATIONS

The following recommendations are based on the assumption that the accepted manpower policy aims at the mobilisation and utilisation of all available manpower. They will try to draw attention to steps which have already contributed or will contribute to mobility and to shortening the adjustment process of rural workers to non-agricultural occupations, as described in Section II.

However the majority of the measures and steps to facilitate the adjustment process are taken in only a few countries where they are planned and executed by labour and other public services.

It is a mistake to interpret social and economic measures in such a way that only one aspect of the process can be seen, leading to a one-sided explanation of a phenomenon ; when reading the recommendations, the two-way process should be borne in mind — the effect that receiving communities and their measures have on the rural's adjustment, and also the effect that the rural and his adjustment have on the receiving community.

1. *An active manpower policy, resulting in population redistribution and mobilisation of unused manpower within a country, must take into account :*[2]

   a) the relationship between the growth and structure of the population and the growth of manpower; the importance of forecasting in the planning of manpower utilisation;

   b) the characteristics of manpower as one of the most important resources for economic growth, and the dynamic change in these characteristics in the course of time;

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[1] See : ROUTH, G., and VIMONT, C., *op. cit.*, DOVRING, F., *Land and Labor in Europe, 1900-1964* (at the printers), DEWHURST, J.F., *op. cit.*, and *Demographic and Economic Change in Developed Countries, Princeton*, 1960.

[2] See Section II, 32.

c) the necessity for mobilising all available manpower to improve productivity, economic development and the future economic growth rate.

2. *It is important that adjustment measures are taken both in industry and in the community.*[1]

3. *Financial aid would encourage surplus rural manpower to move.*[2]

4. *Preparing wives, and younger single girls before departure.*[3]

5. *Facilitating the movement of potential manpower resources into active manpower by providing insight into the possibilities of making a better living in a non-agricultural occupation. In order to balance the movement and avoid adjustment problems, communication, information and guidance are needed. Individual differences of the migrants must be taken into account.*[4]

6. *Preparing young rural people at school for a possible later move to occupations in industry as a means of facilitating or avoiding adjustment problems.*[5]

7. *Starting the process of adjustment by training younger people and retraining older people in the sending or receiving communities, or both.*[6]

8. *The attitude of the receiving community might facilitate adjustment.*[7]

9. *Social welfare expenditure in the new community contributes to economic growth.*[8]

10. *Adequate housing and social infrastructure must be prepared.*[9]

11. *Leisure activities must be organised by government as the final authority. Private organisations in the industrial-urban community are to be considered equally, if not more effectively, as control and guidance agencies.*[10]

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[1] See Section II, 37.
[2] See Section II, 40.
[3] See Section II, 42.
[4] See Section II, 44.
[5] See Section II, 46.
[6] See Section II, 49.
[7] See Section II, 50.
[8] See Section II, 52.
[9] See Section II, 54.
[10] ANDERSON, N., *op. cit.*, 374. See Section II, 57.

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Annexes

SUMMARY OF REPORTS BY I. ERIXON AND E. DIMITRAS ON PRACTICAL POLICIES AND PROGRAMMES FOR NATIONAL RURAL MANPOWER

Activity 20/12

SURVEY[1] IN

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[1] Documents MS/S/2657/1-13.

[2] These summaries are entirely or mostly based on written material only.

INTRODUCTION

These annexes are based on material and information which were collected during the autumn of 1963 during interviews in ten European countries : Austria, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Turkey, and with representatives of several International Organisations. The interviews were carried out with the help of a questionnaire of the check-list type, but the questionnaire was used very flexibly. An introductory letter, containing the list of questions and describing the organisation of the survey was sent in advance to prepare for the interviews.

The central theme of the survey was to find out what practical measures had been adopted in each of the countries in order to ease the adaptation problems of national rural migrants entering new environments.

The basis of the programme was much the same for each country, i.e. contacts with : first, the central labour market authority of the country ; second, the central employers' organisation and/or significant industry or industries ; and third, the central union organisations. In some cases, direct contacts were also made with central authorities on the "giving" side — in this case, the Ministry of Agriculture or the National Board of Agriculture. Other institutions and organisations were visited, following suggestions made by the respective countries. In all countries, the Ministry of Labour or another central labour market authority was the central contact body. All practical problems were taken care of most effectively by representatives of these bodies.

A full presentation of the collected material has been given by the two consultants engaged in the work. E. Dimitras, Greece, and I. Erixon, Sweden, in their draft reports. A preliminary report based on the draft reports was prepared by I. Erixon.[1]

Some information provided by the Austrian delegate at the Committee's working party has been added to Annex I (Austria). Annex III (France) is to a large extent based on new information and data. Annex IX (Portugal) is based solely on information provided by the Portuguese delegate.

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[1] See ERIXON, I., *op. cit.*

AUSTRIA

LABOUR MOBILITY — REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT

In Austria, there is a marked division of opinion about the future labour market situation. The Ministry of Social Administration has estimated that a reduction in rural labour of approximately 200,000 persons will take place in the next decade. The opinion in the Ministry of Agriculture is that there is already a lack of manpower in Austrian agriculture and that measures should be taken to stop the outflow of rural manpower to industry. One way of doing this would be to provide better housing for rural workers. In 1962, 2,185 houses and dwellings for rural workers were built with state subsidies. Another means is training programmes giving agricultural occupations a higher status and thus making them more attractive. The rationalisation and mechanisation of agriculture also help in this direction.

One of the bases for the Ministry of Social Administration's estimate is the fact that about 23 per cent of Austria's working population are engaged in agricultural occupations, and that in comparable countries the figure was already down to about 15 per cent in 1951.

In certain areas, or even whole provinces of Austria, the proportion of the population engaged in agriculture was still 50 per cent in 1961 as against 63 per cent in 1951, but the trend of bi-occupation is increasing more and more. The number of commuters seasonally occupied as building workers but bound to agriculture in other ways is highest in these parts of the country.

STIMULATING MOBILITY

No measures are taken in Austria to stimulate the movement of rural manpower to industry. On the contrary, measures were taken to limit the movement, but subsequently abandoned.

The migration of rural manpower to industrial centres for various reasons is especially high in the eastern frontier zones of Austria. In some districts a loss of population of 13 per cent and more was registered within the past ten years.

The planning and research group of the Ministry of Social Administration proposed that on-the-spot training courses should be organised, at least in cases where there is a clear need to stimulate labour mobility ; such ideas met with distrust by employers, since they seem to fear that the authorities want to control the recruitment of manpower to industry. The proposal was based on the assumption that training courses given by the industry which is the potential employer would be a very effective mobility measure.

As a first consequence of the situation just described Austrian authorities, trade-unions and employers' associations were most interested in outlining a programme of regional policy to improve the economic structure of areas of agricultural underemployment and labour surplus by introducing new industries. Since 1956, the Austrian authorities and Private Planning Institutes have been operating with the slogan "Factories to the Workers".

In that year, "Information Services" for settling new industrial plants in Austrian development areas were set up in the Ministry of Social Affairs with the task of laying special emphasis on rural underemployment areas and with the aim of decreasing commuting, which is unsound from both the economic and financial standpoints.

At the same time associations for improving the regional economic structure were set up in most Austrian provinces. Trade-unions, regional Chambers of Commerce, Agriculture and provincial authorities were represented on these associations.

In close co-operation the Information Services set up by the Ministry of Social Affairs, the Labour Exchange directed by the same Ministry and provincial associations took the lead in advising firms to settle in Austrian development areas and to establish works in rural underemployment zones. So far about 10,000 jobs have been created since 1956.

A technical inter-departmental committee for the promotion of development areas was also instituted. Up to 1963, about 8,000 people found jobs in industries established under the auspices of the regional development programme and a further 5,000 will be employed by projects already under way.

ADAPTATION TO INDUSTRY AND TO THE COMMUNITY

The problems of adaptation of rural manpower to industry were generally considered to be very few. The most important reason for this was considered to be the homogeneous character of Austria, which makes migration very simple from the point of view of adaptation.

Examples of practical adaptation measures given were : the general information given by the labour exchange when a job is being discussed, training courses for unemployed younger rural workers (mostly females), courses to improve workers' skills and to give them higher qualifications for industry, the creation of workshops for adult apprentices to industry in rural areas, and a few other educational possibilities.

DENMARK

LABOUR MOBILITY — REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT

The impression obtained from interviews with representatives of the institutions visited in Denmark was that problems of labour mobility are not a central point in Danish labour market questions. The movement of about 10,000 rural workers a year from rural occupations into industry was said to take place with little promotion.

A regional development programme has been in operation for about five years. It was introduced in order to eliminate the "islands of unemployment", which were discovered during a study made in 1956. The regional development programme has been almost totally successful in this respect.

STIMULATING MOBILITY

A system of financial mobility-stimulating measures was adopted in Denmark in 1960. The reason for this was a need to offset some disequilibrium in the labour market, which had been caused by the very favourable employment situation in the country in general. The system comprises subsidies for family costs.

ADAPTATION TO INDUSTRY AND TO THE COMMUNITY

A very interesting feature of the Danish labour market is the existence of good training facilities for adults. The basis for this is the law of 1960 concerning training unskilled workers. Schools for this purpose (both State schools and local schools) were not established particularly for rural workers, but very many of them hav been through one of these schools in the process of transition from agriculture to other occupations. According to a Ministry of Labour estimate about 60 per cent of those attending State schools have a rural background.

There are five State schools which give courses in, for example, all sorts of building-work, handling of trucks, tractors, and a wide variety of other technical occupations. The schools are open to both employed and unemployed workers and all receive payment equivalent to unemployment insurance. These schools are 100 per cent financed by the State.

The local schools are a manifestation of the widespread interest in occupational training for adults. They receive a state subsidy of 85 per cent of their operating costs, and 85 per cent of building costs. All other money must come from "local sources". In practice, 10 per cent of the operating costs is covered by the Confederations of Employers and Labour Unions, under a central agreement. The remaining 15 per cent of the building costs is generally roughly equivalent to the price of the ground for the school. This is often put at the school's disposal by the community.

The unions, and particularly the Federation of Unskilled and Specialized Workers, have taken a very active part in the development of the schools ; employers have also been very interested in the training facilities made possible in this way.

When building the schools the adaptation aspect was kept well in mind. The schools were carefully located so that they have a recruitment area with a radius of about 30 kms. which makes it possible for participants in courses to get home in 30-45 minutes.

Another point is that the courses are divided into periods of not longer than three weeks. All of these measures are intended to make the confrontation with an unfamiliar way of living less difficult. The process of adapting to a new occupational situation is also likely to be less abrupt in this way.

An interesting aspect of the adjustment process is the role of the military service period (which is 16 months in Denmark) as a period of occupational reorientation for many rural youths. This tendency is emphasised by the reluctance of agricultural employers to pay higher wages to a man who has done his military service when they can find younger and cheaper labour. There are also possibilities to prepare for civil occupations during military service, partly during service time.

Adaptation problems among migrants from rural occupations to industrial environments were generally considered to be very few. The homogeneous geographical and social structure of the country lessens these problems. A survey made by the Ministry of Labour two years ago revealed adaptation difficulties among rural migrants in exceptional cases only. Within industry the rural migrants were often highly thought of because of their stability and carefulness.

Annex III

FRANCE

LABOUR MOBILITY — REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Geographical and occupational mobility among French agricultural workers in the course of economic developments during the 19th and the first half of the 20th centuries was largely unplanned. After the Second World War a policy of balanced expansion and development was gradually introduced into the French Economic Plan. The specific measures which were taken in connection with the passage of agricultural workers to industry come within a general policy of incentive rather than of constraint.

Agriculture is being reorganised to achieve an optimum level of productivity and an improvement in agricultural incomes (Agricultural Act of 1960 — Additional Act 1962): — Mobility of industries and expansion of employment in industry : the Third Plan brought in a scheme to decentralise industry away from the Paris area; the Fourth Plan laid down a policy of developing regional poles of attraction and integrating regional development into a nation-wide development programme; occupational and geographical mobility of workers, both inside agriculture and from agriculture to other sectors, to achieve a more effective balance in employment and income.

Action taken by the public authorities in this connection has two particular characteristics :— A dual approach : schemes to develop employment and promote the mobility of workers are based on a twofold objective — agricultural improvement and industrial expansion. — Co-ordinated action : the public authorities have tried to set up machinery with a convergent action. The Commissariat Général du Plan lays down the main lines of policy and the Délégation à l'Aménagement du Territoire deals with the pattern of capital equipment ; the Ministry of Agriculture endeavours to direct surplus labour and assist it to switch to other sectors; the Ministry of Labour offers facilities for vocational guidance and training.

There are many non-profit-making associations which have promoted assistance schemes : Association pour les migrations rurales vers les zones agricoles sous-exploitées (Migration to under-farmed areas), Association de foyer de jeunes travailleurs (Young workers' Centre). Other non-profit-making or semi-public associations have been made responsible for implementing plans approved by the public authorities — AMPRA, (Associations pour les Mutations Professionnelles en Agriculture), and FPA, (Association pour la Formation Professionnelle des Adultes). The Government subsidises the first type of association, and controls the second type of association, notably the ANIFRMO, (Association Nationale Interprofessionnelle pour la Formation Rationnelle de la Main-d'œuvre), which is controlled by the Ministry of Labour.

Special mention should be made of the organic link between the public authorities and the various sectors of industry and agriculture provided by AMPRA, which directs and assists workers who wish to migrate and who are sent to it by workers' or employers' organisations.

There are three groups of measures : action in the agricultural sector; reorganisation and mobility of industrial firms; mobility of labour.

ACTION TO REORGANISE AGRICULTURE

The aim here is to improve agricultural structures from the social and economic standpoint. Some typical organisations for this purpose are : SICA — Sociétés régionales d'Intérêt Collectif Agricole (for technical and economic improvements); SAFER — Sociétés d'Aménagement Foncier et d'Equipement (improvement in farm structures); ANMER — Association Nationale de Migration et d'Etablissement Rural (organises and facilitates the settlement of farmers in under-farmed areas).

The whole policy of redirecting agricultural labour is based on the Fonds d'Action Sociale pour l'Aménagement des Structures Agricoles (FASASA). This fund may be regarded as an attempt to give legal backing to the organisation of occupational migration both in the agricultural sector and outside it. The Fund has the dual function of : reorganising and stimulating farmers within the agricultural sector; facilitating the passage of surplus labour from agriculture into other sectors.

To reorganise and stimulate, the Fund : makes settlement grants and loans to encourage farmers to leave over-populated areas and settle in reception areas; makes resettlement grants and loans to farmers *who give up uneconomic holdings*; grants supplementary pension rights to *older farmers* who wish to give up their holdings;

provides assistance to ensure training for farmers' sons who are scheduled to remain on their holdings and to improve their living standards, and also helps to maintain farmers on their holdings when their presence is essential in certain depressed areas.

To facilitate the passage into other sectors, the Fund awards retraining grants to farmers, under-employed sons of farmers and unemployed agricultural workers to *encourage their employment or re-employment in new occupations*, particularly in sectors connected with agriculture.

The AMPRA implements FASASA policy at regional level. It redirects labour within the agricultural sector or from agriculture to other sectors and provides the requisite *assistance*. The AMPRA does not take the place of any organisations which are in a position to act, but stimulates and co-ordinates action to enlist the co-operation of farmers in their own development.

The 21 AMPRA Regional Delegations sign agreements with agricultural trade unions at departmental level to establish local correspondents, i.e. trade union members who then receive training with the AMPRA. These correspondents are trained for *information and guidance* duties and they handle the applications of intending migrants. From the establishment of the AMPRA in 1964 to October 1964, 6,000 applications were registered and about 100 are now handled every week.

As part of the redirection process, the dual conception of mobility offers a choice of sectors. This choice is superintended by the AMPRA and its correspondents in farmers' associations or workers' unions. According to their personal, social and economic circumstances, farmers are invited to choose between retirement, migration to and settlement on a farm in a de-populated rural area (in which case they are directed to the ANMER — an association for agricultural migration) or migration into a semi-agricultural or non-agricultural sector.

Candidates for migration from agriculture to other sectors are directed to the appropriate services, i.e. the Vocational Guidance Councils responsible to the Regional Directorates of the Ministry of Labour.

TERRITORIAL RE-ORGANISATION AND PROVISION OF INDUSTRIAL EMPLOYMENT FOR MIGRANTS

The object of the policy of industrial decentralisation is to decongest the Paris area and foster activity in areas of under-employment.

Government action encourages the development of industrial activities in the west and south-west regions of the country, in accordance with the objectives of the

Fifth Plan. A decree of 24th May, 1964, created an industrial development premium for regions where, in view of demographic trends and the actual level of economic development, serious imbalance may occur between manpower supply and demand; and an industrial adaptation premium for more limited regions which are likely, in the next few years, to have employment problems caused by the decline in traditional industrial or mining activities.

The action carried out by means of industrial development premiums, industrial adaptation premiums and the decentralisation grants for industrial undertakings in the Paris area which transfer to the provinces, continues to fall within overall measures which include State aid for the decentralisation of the Paris area and various tax exemptions. This action is co-ordinated with the Fonds National de l'Emploi, which was recently set up in the Ministry of Labour.

In addition to the Vocational Guidance councils mentioned above, there is permanent liaison between the Ministry of Labour and the Ministry for the Armed Forces to orientate young conscripts; in particular, officers are given a special training in order to prepare young soldiers for their professional civilian life. This co-ordinated action, which affects many young rurals and is especially useful for vocational training of young soldiers without professional qualifications, is carried out on two levels :

— first of all, in collaboration with guidance officers, appropriate information is given to young people by different means (lectures, films, etc.) on the various trades taught by the FPA;

— secondly, army monitors, after taking a course under the auspices of the Ministry of Labour, give young people certain elements of a general training based on programmes specially prepared by the ANIFRMO.

This dual action shows how an orientation activity frequently leads to vocational training.

Government assistance mainly covers vocational guidance, vocational training and housing.

Prospective migrants to a non-agricultural sector who have contacted the AMPRA are directed to the labour services (Vocational Guidance Councils and industrial psychology services under the Adult Training Scheme). Agricultural workers may, however, contact the Labour Authorities for guidance and assistance through channels other than the AMPRA, an institution established specifically for the agricultural community. These channels are provided by the Ministry of Labour.

Vocational training : farmers may apply to the usual *Adult Vocational Training Services* which provide accelerated training varying with the abilities of the individual and the demand for skilled labour. During their intensive training period (six months) trainees draw the statutory minimum wage and are entitled to all the welfare benefits of industrial workers (social insurance in particular). Before the AMPRA actually began to operate, these training services, during the six month period between October 1963 and April 1964, provided free training for 3,069 workers from the agricultural sector.

Special sections for the training of adults from the agricultural sector had actually been set up before 1964 in areas of agricultural migration. These sections were responsible for providing an additional basic training prior to actual technical training in order to give rural workers the same chances of access to technical training as urban workers.

The Ministry of Labour grants aid to firms for the occupational readaptation of their personnel in cases of concentration, creation, conversion or decentralisation of their operations (decrees of 4th September and 6th December 1954).

This subsidy covers expenses comprising monitors' and workers' salaries during the readaptation period (3 weeks minimum, 6 months maximum) together with social charges, costs of equipment and materials, expenditure involved in training monitors, costs of psychotechnical examination of workers, and the technical and financial control costs involved.

The establishment of the FASASA (Fonds pour l'Aménagement des Structures Agricoles) and the AMPRA led to a particular expansion in the adult training sector designated for candidates of agricultural origin. Two hundred accelerated training sections are now reserved for such workers who are given priority (180 sections under the FPA expansion programme for 1964/65). Seventy-two sections are already operating, and the others are in course of construction or opening at the end of 1965.

In order to ensure equality of training in rural and urban areas a special effort is being made by the Ministry of National Education to raise standards of school and technical training in agricultural areas by providing districts of 5,000 inhabitants with secondary schools (up to 16 years of age). The Ministry of Agriculture is also trying to develop the training facilities provided for children of farmers by improving *school bus* *services* and setting up *agricultural schools* adapted to technical, economic, and social conditions in small agricultural regions, to prevent children from being uprooted from their original environment.

An original system of transition has, moreover, been planned with the institution of "*passerelles*" by which pupils from a general agricultural technical school can be switched over at any time for re-training for employment in another sector of the economy.

ADAPTATION TO INDUSTRY AND TO THE COMMUNITY

Preparation for social adaptation: the AMPRA programme includes social preparation for migration. Since it began to operate, two experimental sessions have been organised in co-operation with a private agricultural welfare association. These sessions are designed to interest candidates in industrial life.

The psychological method of sensitisation is based on contact with the new environment and individual analysis of the situation at a group session. The personal attitudes of intending migrants are studied before the session at personal interviews. Candidates are housed in the families of industrial workers. Contacts are organised with former agricultural workers, shop stewards, or agricultural foremen. During the session, meetings are organised for briefing, contacts and analysis, and also for visits to industrial plants.

Transfer aid: settlement grants are awarded to farmers who migrate within the agricultural sector. Up to the present no specific removal grant is paid to agricultural workers going into industry on the lines of the industrial conversion schemes (supported by funds for the conversion of firms and the retraining of workers).

Government aid takes the form of *housing subsidies* in areas where incentives are provided for the *decentralisation of industry* and the provision of employment. In 1963, 2,000 units of accommodation were built in this connection.

The combined action of local associations and the public authorities has resulted in the establishment of *urban centres for young workers* which welcome young rurals to urban areas. Although not exclusively reserved for young farmers, these centres are by their nature especially suitable for their requirements.

THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

LABOUR MOBILITY — REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT

In Germany, financial measures are taken to stimulate labour mobility, but they were said to be negligible by those who mentioned them in interview. Opinion was unanimous that interest is taken in industrial rather than geographical mobility in Germany.

At one interview it was stated that no dramatic release of rural manpower could be expected. The process of encouraging rural manpower to transfer to industry would be a rather slow one, and agricultural rationalisation and regional development were likely to be important elements. Increasing productivity must be regarded as an economic necessity. Regional development is preferable to subsidising agriculture.

Regional development in Germany has been successful, and the development of centres in depressed areas of special interest. It has also been a significant trait of the labour market policy not to encourage new industries in the metropolitan areas (Ballungsgebiete). The following figures show the number of industries with more than 50 employees started in Germany during two periods :

1955/1957 — 797 industries, 506 outside metropolitan areas;
1958/1960 — 931 industries, 670 outside metropolitan areas.

ADAPTATION TO INDUSTRY AND TO THE COMMUNITY

The most important reason for the decentralisation of industry was the accessibility of manpower.

The structure of German industry, with the marked infiltration of industrial enterprises into rural regions, is of great significance in the adaptation of rural manpower entering industry. The new industrial worker does not often have to face problems connected with a change of environment but only those of occupational change. It is possible for him to go on living in his old home, perhaps at the cost of some commuting.

However, there are still some occupational adaptation problems. One of the reasons is the lack of adequate training facilities in many rural districts. The old type of village school with often only two classes is considered to be a serious drawback for rural youth in competition with those who have received better training. A system of central schools has been introduced, but there is resistance from various groups to this type of school.

Possibilities for improved adaptation of older people leaving agriculture, for example as a result of successful rationalisation programmes, should be furthered. Up until now, it has been difficult to discuss the problems of releasing potential industrial manpower from agriculture, but the situation is changing. It is clear that these problems must be attacked jointly by various organisations, groups and persons, since many traditional rural, industrial, cultural, economic and regional factors are involved. Only co-ordinated efforts will make it possible to establish the necessary practical measures, including, for example, social guidance programmes.

GREECE

LABOUR MOBILITY — REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT

No active policy has been implemented to encourage the geographical and occupational mobility of the rural population. However, problems of occupational and social adjustment and other considerations have induced different groups in Greece to give active attention to the matter of the internal mobility of the rural population. These activities have not yet resulted in the definition of a coherent overall policy. Nevertheless, the broad outline of such a policy is emerging from conversations : the scattered rural population should be re-grouped, non-agricultural activities be introduced into rural areas, and preference given to regional development rather than the movement of the rural population. Measures have been taken to reduce the influx into the Athens area, which is already over-crowded, but have not so far been successful.

ADAPTATION TO INDUSTRY AND TO THE COMMUNITY

The rural population represents 50 per cent of the total population, and rational and well-prepared internal mobility must be encouraged to reduce this high proportion. For this, care must be taken not to impair agriculture, which is already suffering from shortages of seasonal labour, and to prepare the departure and canalise the internal migratory flow towards existing or projected industrial areas other than Athens; social pre-training must be given before departure, and people made welcome socially and receive occupational training when they arrive; full employment should be ensured in urban centres. Thus, adequate organisations should be set up for the preparation and reception of the migrants, in addition to voluntary channels. Only by these means will it be possible for the rural population to adjust to industry, leading to the rapid industrialisation which Greece hopes to achieve. Rural populations and urban people should no longer be dealt with on the same footing by the organisations, as is the case at present with regard to a few measures taken mainly in respect of occupational training and to protect the trade unions in the towns.

ITALY

LABOUR MOBILITY — REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT

The law against urbanisation promulgated by the Fascist regime remained in force until 1960 to restrain the rural population from moving to the towns. In the North, however, the local authorities, and more particularly the municipalities of Milan and Turin, encouraged immigration to satisfy the increasing needs of industry for manpower.

Up until 1960, immigration did not present any major problems. The majority of the migrants came from the country in the North and Centre to settle in the towns of the Triangle (Milan, Turin and Genoa); they had lived in a fairly modernised countryside, which facilitated their adjustment to industry and towns. The rural population from other areas usually spent some time in the countryside of the North or in the building trade before settling into the built-up areas and taking up industrial employment there. The rate of immigration, moreover, was slower. These circumstances, which were favourable to adjustment, no longer exist. Immigration since 1961 has been on a large scale. The intermediate stages are now eliminated ; the rural people come from the South where agricultural and socio-cultural structures are reminiscent of the middle ages and settle directly in the large modern urban and industrial centres. This socio-cultural phase difference and the accelerated rate of immigration from the South brought confusion to the Northern cities, which did not expect that the migrants would have difficulties in adjustment or that the urban and social structures would be inadequate to receive and integrate this new and numerous population. Faced with this situation, the Ministry of Labour laid down a policy intended to channel the rural population towards the urban centres where employment and reception facilities were in fact available. For this purpose a list of vacancies is published weekly in an information bulletin for the workers. The bulletin is sent to all Labour Offices and Employment Services. Workers are also informed of vacancies by radio and television. Local authorities are establishing links with the communities from which the immigrants come, to ensure that migrants are given information before they leave and are properly received on arrival.

The municipal authorities and private religious or secular associations have taken steps and created special structures to further the social integration of rural people who have already settled in the large industrial towns, but the action taken in this field should not be generalised. More must be done, especially on the institutional side. Adjustment to work has been facilitated mainly by the employers and by general trade union action to guarantee the same treatment between migrants and locals. Finally, the expansion of housing construction for single migrants and migrants' families is an essential part of the integration policy of local and central authorities and also of firms and trade unions. More particularly, the central office of the Administration of Housing for Workers, set up in 1949 to solve the unemployment problem and improve housing conditions for wage-earners, had its period of activity extended in 1963 until 1973 with the principal aim of providing housing for immigrant workers. This office is continuing its activities in liaison with the Social Service Institution for Housing for Workers (ISSCL). The two offices are occupied not only with giving suitable housing to the rural people, but assisting their adaptation to the ways of modern group habitations and to a new community.

This policy is, however considered inadequate by the CISL trade union. This organisation was among the first to advocate the reduction of the agricultural population by means which included internal migration at a minimum social cost. The CISL also claims that responsibility for placing the workers should be transferred to the trade unions and that occupational training should be improved and controlled by them. Thus the migrants could be provided with work contracts before leaving their villages and with a travel warrant furnished by the employer or by the State. In order to solve the housing crisis, rents should be frozen and the building rate stepped up by the authorities. For this purpose it would also be advisable to nationalise the industries manufacturing building materials.

It should also be ensured that migrant manpower is not used as a labour force in the hands of the State and of employers to exert a pressure on wages. A real or imagined rivalry between migrant and resident workers would create tension and be harmful to social integration. It would also be detrimental to claim special measures for the migrants. To attain social integration, it is essential that the trade unions should define this policy in the name and on behalf of all workers, whether migrant or not. In effect, a special policy for migrants would be discriminatory both in regard to migrants and to residents.

In parallel with internal mobility, Italy has encouraged industrial decentralisation and the regional development of the South. A special fund has been raised for the latter.

The decentralisation or establishment of industries in rural areas of the North has not presented great difficulties. Rural people from this developed agricultural area are more or less already prepared to be smoothly inserted into industrial life and work. One of the industries visited, moreover, the Olivetti Company, has ensured at Ivrea that the rural social structure will not be disintegrated and that one half of its labour force will continue to live in the villages, thus preferring daily migration to permanent migration.

Difficulties have been encountered with the establishment of industries in the South because of the sociocultural backwardness of the region and of its manpower. Difficulties have been gradually reduced due to a policy of civic and social preparation for the workers and their families, both before and after the factories began to operate. The social cost of establishing industries in the South has proved much less than that of settling rural people from the South in Northern urban centres.

Consideration of the social cost and of the future needs of manpower on the Southern areas leads Professor F. Compagna to prefer intra-European emigration, which is temporary, to migration to the North, which is permanent, and which will consequently augment the economic and social phase difference between the South and the North.

In short, internal migration and industrialisation in backward areas show striking resemblances at the moment with intra-European migration. The internal policy is based on experience with international movements of people which, for some, are preferable to internal movements.

ADAPTATION TO INDUSTRY AND TO THE COMMUNITY

Central and local authorities are intervening or planning to intervene, as follows :

The Employment Bureaux are ensuring better coordination to give the rural population information concerning employment vacancies in the towns and to guide them towards areas where favourable conditions for housing and social integration prevail, so that migration will be a less problematical step. One of the objectives to be attained is a work contract which will be given to rural people before they leave. Preparation and guidance for the migrants is also given by the local authorities, for example by the Municipality of Milan in liaison with the Ministry of Labour. This Municipality, applying the results of several surveys on migrants, has established continuous contacts with the communal authorities of departure who receive and disseminate a bulletin and up-to-date documentation on the possibilities of immigration in Milan and on the structures for reception and for social assistance in adjustment. Information and preparation in the communities of departure are provided by religious or secular private associations working in or without liaison with the public authorities. The migrants are directed towards Reception Centres in the large towns, which are administered by these associations or their representatives. Special assistance is provided for the families of migrants remaining in the villages. Private experience, moreover, forms a pattern for action by the public authorities.

Guidance bureaux are set up at the railway stations of the large towns. Assistance Centres for Immigrants (CAI) develop multifarious activities for both the reception and the social and occupational integration of rural people settling in townships. In Turin, for example, the CAI which is a local association of the POA-ONARMO, arranged that the families of migrants remaining in the South should be visited, and sends social helpers to Genoa to take the "Sun Train" which brings Southerners to Turin, so that they make preliminary contact with the migrants. The social helpers divide the city into action areas, and someone is always on duty. Assisted by voluntary workers, they visit the migrants and introduce them to the CAI; they learn their needs and encourage them to benefit from integration and promotion activities (classes in reading and writing, occupational pre-training, courses for women in domestic economy, care of children, loans for housing, etc.). The CAI avoids material assistance ; it is through adjustment to urban life that the rural migrants will be able to provide for their needs.

In Milan, the "Umanitaria Society" adapts its traditional activities of popular culture, co-operative and trade union training, and social promotion, to the mentality of the migrants. It has the advantage of long experience in the matter of Italian emigrants abroad, for internal and external migration are very similar. This experience has been put to good use by the Milan Municipal Administration which has set up a "Committee for the Cultural Integration of Adults" dealing exclusively with migrants. This Committee has entrusted the Lombard Institute for Economic and Social Studies with the task of defining the cultural equipment which is essential to any person for his adjustment to urban life and industrial work. The UNESCO concept of illiteracy has been widened to serve as an instrument for action by the Committee. In each district, sub-committees bring together all the persons capable of giving general training to the migrants and of putting them into contact with the residents and initiating them in the ways of urban life. Only active methods are applicable in this field. The activities are well received by the migrants but practical difficulties prevent a good number from participating in them (for example, working overtime in factories). The Committee also deals with the attitude of the receiving community, trying to avoid tensions and prejudices which cause unwarranted antagonisms between migrants and non-migrants and lead to discrimination, for example, the notice : "House to let, southerners need not apply".

With regard to housing, transit centres enable migrants to be lodged until they find suitable accommodation for themselves and their families. In this way the erection of shanty-towns will be avoided. In the large towns the administration reserve land for building. The building plans of the INA-CASA Central Office and local Offices are adapted to the quantitative needs and qualitative requirements of the migrants based on psycho-sociological and other surveys which have been undertaken at several levels. Building for co-operatives of wage-earners, with or without participation by firms seems, to be preferred by those concerned. The hire-purchase system is encouraged as a method of acquiring ownership of housing in order to help in taking root, in budgetary discipline and in the integration of the occupants in the habitation group and in the urban district.

The adjustment of the rural migrants to the new towns is brought about, however, chiefly by the Social Centres established within these towns and activated by 450 social workers. The Social Centre deals with the adjustment of the occupants to the running of their block of flats and with their participation in initiatives for creating the commercial and cultural educational equipment for the new residential group. Spare time activities, social and infant hygiene and the pre-training of youths and adults also come within the province of the social workers. At first the occupants seem to be apathetic but once they have understood they take an active part.

Occupational training for unemployed or under-employed rural people is encouraged by the Ministry of Labour and the "Cassa per il Mezzogiorno" who finance courses and compensate the workers with a basic wage. These courses are organised in occupational schools on the basis of programmes adapted to the adults. They are organised at the request of employers who need manpower for the factories in the North, the Centre and the South. The law instituting this system of training grants the same facilities to foreign employers who are interested in recruiting the manpower thus trained for their own countries. The employers often give additional advantages to the workers to reward perseverance in the courses, success in examinations, etc.

The training courses are also open to migrants in the receiving towns. In Turin, a Training Centre intended exclusively for young or adult southerners has been established. In order to make study possible and attractive to the migrants, the Centre facilitates attendance by means of special transport, provides a canteen, supplies educational requisites free of charge and gives an allowance to those who follow the daily courses. The aim of this Centre is to adjust the southerners to industrial work in Turin and to stimulate them to return later to the South to form the supervisory staff in new industries.

In liaison with the authorities, employers undertake the training of rural people from the South intending to work in the North. The Montecatini Company has for a long time recruited its personnel in the South on the basis of potential qualities and not of educational certificates. It gives a mainly social training on the spot and then the personnel receive advanced training in the factories in the North. Special arrangements are made for their reception in the factories, introduction to the work and adjustment to urban life. Among other things, the foremen are informed concerning the mentality of the new workers coming from the South ; a senior worker is made "godfather" to a group of young migrants ; many young workers are placed with workers' families. The results of such well-prepared migration are excellent. Montecatini therefore only very rarely engage migrants who have arrived in Milan on their own initiative.

With regard to the development of the South by the establishment of industries, it has been essential to prepare the population and the manpower. Private Industrialisation Assistance Centres initiate the population in the ways of modern life. This initiation is completed in Adult Training Centres. The teaching techniques employed are specially designed for rural people from very backward areas from the social-cultural point of view. Every effort is made to recover this leeway in the shortest possible time. The employers have had to undertake this task in parallel with the building of the factory and to continue it afterwards. Recruitment and selection are carried out according to strictly scientific principles which enable employers to avoid the political pressure of the local groups to have their "protégés" engaged even though they have not the necessary potential qualities. Then the efforts to overcome illiteracy are linked, during the training courses, with social and civic education. The rural people of the South are taught the rules of hygiene and of nutrition, the team spirit at work, discipline, and the elements of grammar and arithmetic. It is significant that the employers go so far as to teach the Italian Constitution, social rights and the functioning of modern democratic society. The enlargement of the horizon of the rural people thus makes them fitted for introduction to industrial life. The basic training is therefore social in nature. Often a part of this manpower is engaged to construct the factory buildings and then to erect the machines. This may complete or precede the first basic training. The rural people have seen the birth of the factory. They are better prepared to understand it and to adjust themselves to it. Advanced occupational courses in the South and periods of instruction in factories in the North complete the training. The results are encouraging. For example, in a new factory at Brindisi the manpower is of rural origin and the average age is 27 years ; all the lower and middle supervisors were trained by this method.

Industry must also assist the surrounding society. Workers' housing, social assistance centres, and cultural promotion centres in the industrialised areas are structures which are complementary to those of the factories established in rural areas. Finally, social and psycho-sociological surveys carried out by employers, universities and voluntary associations make it possible to understand the phenomenon better and to correct the measures which have been taken.

THE NETHERLANDS

LABOUR MOBILITY — REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT

An important characteristic of the Labour Market Policy in the Netherlands is the close co-ordination of mobility measures with the process of industrialisation. From 1959 onwards, much more emphasis has been put on regional development with the aim of developing new centres for industrial and economic activity. Existing financial measures for labour mobility were used to stimulate migration to the development centres. One of the reasons behind this policy was a desire to counter the effects of over-population in the western provinces. The policy was so successful that in 1962 the financial measures mentioned were withdrawn, partly as a result of tension in the labour market.

In the future, interest in mobility questions in the Netherlands will be directed more towards occupational mobility than to geographical mobility, whether of industries or of labour. It has been estimated that occupational mobility will be of considerable proportions. About 10 per cent of the active working population is now employed in agriculture, but it is aimed to reduce this figure to 6-7 per cent, or even less. This "cutting down" process must, however, be very selective as there is already a shortage of agricultural workers, although there is an excess of farmers. Therefore rationalisation of farms both technically and through re-allotment, changing the attitudes of farmers as regards their present and future situation, and preparing their change of occupation, are at the present time central problems of the labour market and agricultural policy in the Netherlands.

STIMULATING MOBILITY

One of the means of attaining the selective migration of the rural population as described is better vocational guidance and vocational training, together with better personnel management within agriculture. The goal is to reduce the secondary out-flow of youths from rural occupations which is now taking place and to stimulate the primary out-flow, as well as helping young persons who should stay in agriculture to reach a decision to do so permanently once they have chosen agricultural work.

Better personnel management is an important aspect of agricultural manpower policy ; rural occupations could be made more attractive through better training and other personnel management activities, and rural work be given a higher social and economic status.

Different ways of preparing and of encouraging mobility have been tried for farmers. Programmes of *rural-social guidance* and *economic social guidance* are of special interest. Rural-social guidance is directed towards groups and aims at changing attitudes and introducing ideas. Among problems that can occupy social guidance discussion groups, re-allotment and other rationalisation questions, the possibilities of changing the patterns of inheritance, (for example, through letting the youngest and not the oldest son inherit the farm) can be mentioned. The main theme of the programme is to give farmers a better knowledge of their own situation.

A social guidance project which investigated problems of social structure in twelve small villages in the province of Limburg can be mentioned as an example. The initial action was a community self survey, which showed that wives very much resented the patriarchal behaviour of their husbands. Guidance activities started with the presentation of a series of scenes which had been written by an author on the theme of patriarchal behaviour and conflict between the generations. The "performances" of those scenes were attended by about 80 per cent of the population and there was some discussion. The next year discussion groups with twelve to fifteen men were organised ; the fourth year there were discussion groups for women and the fifth year there were discussion groups for the younger generation.

The results of this project were noted in considerable changes in attitudes, making the village people, and especially husbands, more receptive to new ideas and better prepared to adapt to the changing conditions in agriculture.

Economic social guidance is concerned with the individual farmer and the individual farm. With an economic analysis based on budgeting, consultants help the farmer to reach a decision as to whether he will continue in agriculture or whether he would be better off in another occupation.

If the final advice to the farmer is to leave agriculture there is close co-operation between the consultants working for the Ministry of Agriculture who give economic social guidance, and the employment service, which helps the one-time farmer to find a new occupation.

Finding occupations causing the minimum adaptation difficulties for people coming from agriculture is, however, still very much of a trial and error activity. The need for further research in this field, with special attention to the status problems connected with the independent working situation of the farmers, was mentioned as urgent. The extra training needed for officials who have to help and to handle this type of client was also emphasized.

ADAPTATION TO INDUSTRY AND TO THE COMMUNITY

The analysis of the background 'milieu' of a migrant and of his family in order to be able to predict the chances for successful adaptation to an industrial environment was among the measures making adaptation to industry easier.

The system of "foster-homes" for rural youths, with established contacts between the parents and the foster-home, is one example of measures to facilitate the adaptation of rural youths to urban surroundings. Another measure is the Hague boarding house for youths. Social workers engaged in social guidance for youths are subsidised up to 40 per cent by the State.

Reception plans arranged by neighbourhood councils may be mentioned among the general adaptation measures, although not specially directed towards rural youths, together with such long-term activities as the programmes for the development of a social and cultural infra-structure. Within the framework of this programme, subsidies may be given for building community centres, health centres, libraries and so on. There are now nine such projects under way.

NORWAY

LABOUR MOBILITY — REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT

The situation in Norway seems to be characterised by a considerable interest in both labour mobility and regional development. There are financial measures for supporting labour mobility, similar to those in Sweden. Norwegian officials emphasized that there is a lively exchange of ideas in this field between the two countries. Adaptation to the new milieu and not only the mobility aspect, has been kept in mind in these measures.

Interest and activities in the field of regional development are of long standing ; regional planning offices, both local and central, have existed since 1951. During 1963, a re-organisation of regional planning activities took place and a special department within the Ministry of Labour is now in charge of this work. It is clear that there will be a certain concentration of population in the future in Norway, but one of the important tasks for the regional planning bodies will be to steer the development in such a way that no problems of over-population will occur in specific areas, especially the Oslo region.

This point of view has been much to the fore in public debate in Norway, through presentation of the concept of conserving the important natural resources and free access to the open countryside. The excellent opportunities for outdoor life in Norway and the great interest in such activities was not particularly stressed in the interviews, but the existence and conservation of such possibilities as one vital aspect of a high standard of living in some of the other countries was mentioned as something difficult to regain.

The three industries visited all had practical experience of regional development. The iron and steel works of Norsk Jernverk in Mo i Rana in Northern Norway is in itself the biggest experiment in regional development in the country ; the other two industries have started affiliated factories in areas where the regional development aspect was of a certain significance. The analysis performed by Norsk Hydro as a preparation for setting up an industry in Western Norway, is an interesting example of co-operation between a company, the authorities, local organisations, etc., in a regional development project.

STIMULATING MOBILITY

Among the financial measures to support mobility, assistance is given for travel and removal costs and there is a family allowance and a re-starting allowance. Some of the training and re-training activities are also of importance as mobility-stimulating measures.

An example where 'on-the-spot training' had been very successful was mentioned in one of the interviews. Of twelve men from Northern Norway taking part in a course given by an industry in the far south of the country, eleven stayed to work for the factory where the course was given and the twelfth man is working for an affiliated factory.

The importance of an effective labour exchange organisation with a dynamic and service-minded concept of its role was stressed in many of the interviews.

The significance of helping to solve the problem of housing for the migrant was mentioned frequently. The Norwegian State Housing Bank grants loans for building houses with apartments for single people, provided that the houses are built according to certain standards. Industry requested more help from the authorities in this field.

ADAPTATION TO INDUSTRY AND TO THE COMMUNITY

One of the aims of the labour exchange organisation is to establish a more individual and personal relationship with the migrant but so far not very much has been done in this direction. To establish such relationships, there is a need for labour exchange personnel to be more service-minded. A flexible rather than a bureaucratic attitude should characterise the handling of mobility questions. This is true both of the discussions which take place before the decision to migrate and of the social guidance which should be a standard feature of the reception arrangements in the new environment.

This line of reasoning must be seen in relation to the sometimes high turnover figures — as high as 70 per cent for long-distance migrants — which makes it clear that some kind of action must be taken.

The role of the trade union in connection with the process of adaptation was discussed in some interviews. In one company, the trade union took a very active part in operations aimed at making the process of adaptation easier. The president, vice-president and secretary of the union were on the pay-roll of this company and were engaged both in the introduction of new employees to the company and in the arrangement of leisure time activities for them. Some years ago, the company tried to handle leisure time activities on its own but letting the trade union handle these questions has shown itself to be much more successful. To encourage the community authorities to be more active in the development of the social infra-structure is one way of increasing the chances for adaptation ; this was pointed out by another of the industries — and should be the natural distribution of responsibilities between the community and industry.

The spokesman for this industry said, too, that the interest in matters of adaptation has been very slight within Norwegian industry, but is increasing. More especially in areas with an almost total lack of industrial traditions, (as was the case with the area in Northern Norway where the big state-owned iron and steel works was started), considerable adaptation problems might develop. A big research project on the social effects of founding the steel works was started early in the 'fifties' but very little has come out of it in the way of practical measures or influence on company policy. The exchange of information between the research workers and company representatives seems to have been rather limited.

There is an ethnic group in Norway, i.e. the Lapps who mostly live in the district of Finmark, who have special adaptation difficulties. Many of the 25,000 Lapps are facing mobility problems as their possibilities of making a living in the regions where they used to live are rapidly growing worse. The problem of giving the Lapps the courage necessary to meet this new situation is of particular concern to the authorities. Special vocational and general training courses have been proposed for this group, within the ordinary adult training programme.

PORTUGAL

LABOUR MOBILITY — REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT

The mobility or rural manpower has, for some years, been the subject of serious reflection by the Government, although no really active overall policy has yet been defined. In spite of this, the rural exodus has grown to the point where there is already a shortage of manpower in some areas. Portugal still shows a rather unbalanced employment structure, like most countries in the course of development, because of the high proportion of the population employed in agriculture (43 per cent in 1960). This leads to a high degree of agricultural underemployment which can be evaluated, among other factors, by the low level of agricultural capital and by an accentuated disparity between average output within the agricultural sector and between it and other economic sectors (in 1960, the average productivity of an agricultural worker was about 40 per cent of that of a non-agricultural worker).

Thus the transfer of surplus manpower in the agricultural sector to the secondary and tertiary sectors is an essential condition for general economic progress, as it is obvious that there is a direct relation between the rhythm of national economic growth and the rapidity of the mobility process.

On the whole, it appears necessary to develop the secondary and tertiary sectors, increase productivity and raise the standard of agricultural life. Mobility is also a fundamental element as it provides a possibility for absorbing the surplus of agricultural manpower and can also constitute a means of vocational training, particularly in the case of temporary mobility.

The equilibrium of the labour market will not result from uncontrolled mobility ; an active manpower policy, based on an adequate employment policy and an appropriate method for vocational training, is indispensable. This must be carried out in the context of a regional development policy in which economic progress must be accompanied by a higher level of collective satisfaction and a correction of existing sectoral and regional inequalities.

As a result of these policies, it is hoped that in 1967 (at the end of the interpolated development plan which has now been drawn up) the percentage of the active population employed in agriculture will have fallen to 37 per cent, and that this fall will continue so that in 1973 the percentage will not be higher than about 27 per cent. This evolution corresponds successively to annual variation rates of —2 per cent (between 1965 and 1967, period of the interpolated plan) and of —4.5 per cent between 1968-1973, which correspond in absolute values to an average annual decrease of 24,000 to 46,000 people actively employed in agriculture, respectively, whilst the increase in the overall employment level is forecast at 16,000 people annually.

The evolution of employment in different economic activities in the period 1965-1973 will logically depend on the internal product, taking into account the evolution of productivity. However, in the agricultural sector, the under-employment which is particularly notable in certain North and North-Eastern regions, leads to the conclusion that variations in the active agricultural population largely result from annual movements of workers towards secondary and tertiary sectors, and emigration.

In line with the policy defined, and the organisation of the labour market in view of the increased mobility of manpower and its ability to adapt to changes resulting from economic development and technical progress, we should mention the Fund for the Development of Manpower (F.D.M.O.) which has been set up in the Ministry of Labour : legislation enables it to define, among others, the characteristic functions of Employment Services, particularly the analysis of the labour market, placement of workers, occupational classification and documentation, and the vocational orientation of young and adult workers.

The Accelerated Vocational Training Institute (IFA) was also set up, and, particularly for rural workers, the Rural Social Policy Commission was formed to study and propose different norms, particularly on the following points : classification of activities and occupations, orientation, training, occupational recuperation and re-adaptation ; manpower supply and demand, labour and migration crises ; placement services ; co-ordination of social services activities for workers and their families ; housing, etc.

Apart from the Ministry of Labour, we would mention the Alentefo Co-ordinating Committee for Public

Works (CCOPA) a body set up in the Unemployment Commission under the Ministry for Public Works, one of whose aims is to promote the transfer of unemployed rural workers in certain Southern regions towards other areas where there is a shortage of manpower.

As stated above, our policy for the mobilty of rural manpower must be related to the economic and social policies. Thus, combined development of agriculture and industry must be envisaged.

So far as agriculture is concerned, the following measures are foreseen : an agricultural structure of the family undertaking ; type, technical training of entrepreneurs and agricultural workers, increasing the productivity of the land and of labour, improvement of techniques, improving the conditions of commercialising and industrialising agricultural products, revising credit-granting systems, etc.

With respect to industry, it is considered that a concentration should be avoided in areas where there is already over-production, and a law encouraging geographic industrial decentralisation will soon be published, especially to promote industrial implantation in new industrial areas.

To concretise this mobility policy, it is necessary to have as accurate and up-to-date as possible knowledge of the labour market : the FDMO has a system for analysing this market, on the district level. They are also carrying out surveys on economic activity, with the aim of obtaining forecasts on the development of employment.

In the framework of the Mediterranean Regional Plan, the Centre for Economic Statistical Studies has undertaken the determination of needs for scientific and technical personnel up until 1975, and comparison with the estimated school output, in order to foresee shortages and surpluses in different sectors.

As the CCOPA co-ordinate the plans of different departments of the Ministry for Public Works and local authorities with seasonal fluctuations in agricultural employment, regional and seasonal knowledge of the labour market situation is very important. Thus the CCOPA has developed a statistical system based on weekly observations, at the level of the smallest administrative unit, of the volume of unemployment and migrant manpower.

ADAPTATION OF RURAL MANPOWER TO INDUSTRY

So far as the adaptation of rural manpower to industry is concerned, we are above all concerned with the vocational training aspect. Technical education for young people falls within the competence of the Ministry of Education. After this training, we are at the moment preparing supplementary or complementary post-school training taking the form of an apprenticeship in undertakings or apprenticeship centres.

Consequently, a large number of young people finish their compulsory primary education, but do not enrol for secondary education, and apprenticeship thus becomes extremely important as the majority of the active population can only acquire occupational knowledge in this way.

Thus, apart from the lengthening of compulsory school attendance from 4 to 6 years which has already been decided upon, it is believed that apprenticeship conditions should be improved by stimulating occupational selection and orientation, and setting up apprenticeship centres.

The foundation of 30 apprenticeship centres is foreseen for the period 1965-67 thanks to the impetus of the FDMO. Specialisation in industrial sectors in which there is already a shortage of skilled manpower (textiles, metallurgy, hotels, fisheries, clothing, glass) is envisaged.

30 advanced training and re-cycling centres are also envisaged, and it is hoped that the industries concerned will participate in their foundation.

As regards adult training, we would mention the IFPA, whose construction is almost finished. 4 centres are envisaged at Lisbon in the near future, with an annual training capacity for 2,000 workers.

In order to decide on the number of adult vocational training centres, the situation of the following categories will be given priority consideration : those affected by collective dismissals, demobilised servicemen, internal migrants — and particularly rural workers.

Encouragement for vocational training in undertakings is foreseen directly by credits and indirectly by training instructors in the IFPA.

Individual stimulation will be provided by subsidies for transport between undertakings and centres, payment of wages, food subsidies for students at adult vocational training centres and study grants.

In parallel with vocational training, information for rural populations to help them change their occupations, or sometimes their region, is considered of great importance. In this connection, the role which the future network of placement offices (which will start working in 1965 with an experimental service at Lisbon) will undoubtedly play, should be mentioned. This network will be regionalised, up until 1967, with priority for the most industrialised rural areas of the country, without excluding other areas, of course.

In liaison with placement services for workers, vocational orientation centres will be set up which will certainly play a very important part in informing the population.

Modern communication media (radio, television, newspapers) to give information about work and industrial areas will not be widely used because of the low economic development of some regions of the country.

Under the financial aid aspect for mobility, we can mention : the payment of subsidies for industrial development ; financial assistance to agriculture ; the payment of transport costs for workers moved by the CCOPA and for periodical visits to their families ; indemnities for workers taking vocational training courses.

Under the heading of social adaptation of workers, we must mention the housing problem. The necessity to include the housing problem in the overall development plan has been accentuated in recent years because of the growing influx into towns and the inadequate reply of the private building sector to the increasing demand.

So far as towns are concerned, the problem is aggravated due to internal migration ; public authorities must now intervene directly, not only to promote private initiative in building housing but also to give a harmonious orientation to this sector, for the common good.

Among other measures, a study will be made on the foundation and regulations of a body with the aim of orientating housing and town-planning policy, which will start functioning with the Third Development Plan.

The main objectives of a housing policy which has been adopted for the period 1965-67 are :

— elimination of insalubrious areas of urban centres and their outskirts, and rehabilitation by building housing and new residential areas in urban and semi-urban areas with high immigration ;

— widening the policy for rural planning.

To concentrate these objectives, priority investments by public and semi-public bodies have been programmed, essentially for the construction of economic housing, housing for poor families, housing with low rents, and granting loans for people subscribing to provident building funds.

So far as other measures aimed at facilitating the adaptation of migrant workers to new working conditions and social environment is concerned, we have hardly started on the problem. The only thing we can mention is the activity of the Social Action Missions which work in the main industrial and commercial undertakings and which, by practical courses, interviews and films, seek to make workers aware of their rights and obligations concerning insurance and social security. These missions have also organised training courses for housewives (children's education, household budgeting, sewing, child-care, etc.).

The big undertakings also have an organised social service available and cultural and sports groups formed spontaneously, which also fulfil an important role : they promote various initiatives — cultural, sports, financial aid by granting loans and obtaining discounts on consumer goods.

SWEDEN

LABOUR MOBILITY — REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT

The mobility of labour has been the central theme of Swedish labour market policy during recent years. The Labour Market Board has been very active in familiarising the Swedish public with the concept of a dynamic and flexible labour market, necessary if the country is to make the required economic progress.

There is general agreement concerning this policy within the central policy-making bodies in Sweden, but on the local level there has been considerable opposition, for instance, in parts of northern Sweden where, for example, political groups have attacked the "deportation policy" of the Labour Market Board.

The discussion of labour mobility versus regional development became more intensive following the recent publication of a report on decentralisation which was presented as the work of a state committee. The debate following the publication of this report clearly indicated that regional development will play an important role in the future.

That labour mobility will continue to be an essential feature is known from the fact that both agriculture and forestry are undergoing a period of intensive rationalisation. It is estimated that the outflow of rural manpower will have considerable proportions for at least ten to twenty years. The most dramatic changes are taking place within forestry. The number of workers employed in forestry is estimated to have decreased by about 5,000 men a year for some years and for the last year this figure will probably be two or three times as high. In the long run, the number of people in agriculture, forestry and fishing will probably be reduced by half. This means a reduction of from 10-12 per cent of the active population (to 6 per cent). The most radical estimates even put this at 4 per cent.

STIMULATING MOBILITY

The mobility policy of the labour market authorities in Sweden is based on the concept that the individual worker will only be able to make a sound decision as to whether to move or not if all pertinent facts are available to him.

If work is looked upon as something to consume, and workers as consumers, then adequate 'consumers' reports should be available on different types of work and working conditions. Some of the necessary information measures are collective and some are individual. Among the collective measures is a "Vacancy Journal", published weekly; general information is also spread with the help of the press, radio and television. All these media take a very active interest in labour market questions in Sweden.

Among the individual information and mobility-stimulating measures, the activities of the labour exchange officers and the local representatives of the Agricultural Board are of great significance. Following an agreement between the Board of Agriculture and the Labour Market Board, close co-operation has been established to help prospective rural migrants with a thorough examination of their situation before the decision to migrate is made.

The agricultural side will help farmers to estimate their economic future in farming and will also help a farmer who wants to change his occupation by buying his farm at an acceptable price.

It has also been proposed by the Labour Market Board that the authorities should have the possibility of buying other private houses, as owning a house can be considered as a hindrance to mobility. This measure was introduced as an experiment during 1964.

To make the actual transfer easier, there are subsidies for travel and removal, help for starting anew — a family allowance for the first 9 months, and, for people from problem areas, there is also a furnishing subsidy of up to 2,000 Swedish crowns. Not only are the travel costs for the trip to take up work covered, but it is also possible for the prospective migrant and his wife to visit the place where a new job is offered and to stay there for some days if the first offer of work is turned down but there are other openings.

ADAPTATION TO INDUSTRY AND TO THE COMMUNITY

A successful experiment and a clean break with earlier policy was made last year, by a plan offering unemployed and under-employed workers jobs which had a clear economic justification — although still within the emergency work programme — instead of jobs of a relief character. This meant that workers had to work on a project in southern Sweden, many hundreds of miles away from their homes.

When a project of this kind is approaching its completion, or whenever there is a suitable job opportunity, the worker is invited to take this "steady" job instead of the temporary one on, for example, a road-building project. If he accepts, he then gets all the mobility support allowances mentioned earlier.

The point is that the first working period is particularly important for adaptation to the new environment and can also be a period of training. The financial mobility measures are then supposed to have a 'booster effect' on the adaptation process, an expectation that seems to have been met by the experience gethered during the first experiment.

The importance of the human contact aspect was stressed in many of the interviews. The individual-orientated type of guidance which would be the right way to meet this need is, with few exceptions, lacking, but there are plans to encourage such activities. The high turnover figures alone were mentioned in some cases as reason enough for such a policy. One of the industries had had special difficulties of labour turn-over among long-distance migrants coming from areas with few or no industrial traditions.

The importance of training and induction programmes in adaptation was mentioned in most of the interviews. One of the industries had a 3-year school for boys with a rural background mostly recruited from northern Sweden. The school belonged to one of the factories. Most of the boys later got jobs in this factory.

In one of the interviews, the question of the division of responsibility was touched upon and it was said that the employer had the main responsibility for adaptation to work, while the adaptation to the community was a public responsibility.

Two interesting examples of industrial change situations in Sweden have been described by Mr. B. Liljeqvist and Dr. B. Gardell in case studies prepared for OECD seminars. In the first case, a description is given of starting up the big steel works at Oxelösund in central Sweden. This project was the subject of a sociological study by Dr. Kerstin Wiedling in which problems of change were of primary interest. Dr. Gardell studied an industrial unit which had moved to a new location. He pointed out the importance of adequate information being given in such a situation.

TURKEY

LABOUR MOBILITY — REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT

After the end of the war a rural exodus began in Turkey. Rural people settled on the outskirts of the large towns in "hovels built by night", the "Gecekondu". Official policy fluctuated. There was no recognition of the right of rural people to settle round the towns and there were attempts to change this trend through the demolition of the hovels and driving their inhabitants back to the country. From 1962, this policy was changed. The Development Plan aimed at the gradual reduction of the agricultural population. This reduction was to be effected preferably through change of occupation without moving, by means of regional development. Internal and international migration was inevitable, however, during the first stage of national development; it was therefore decided to integrate the rural people of the Gecekondu into the towns and to help them to adjust themselves to the urban mode of life and work.

ADAPTATION TO INDUSTRY AND TO THE COMMUNITY

This integration began on an experimental basis in a few areas of Ankara and Istanbul. The transformation of the hovels in order to give them the appearance of a housing estate and the transfer of the inhabitants to new housing areas were carefully studied and put into effect by two specialised departments of the Ministry of Building. It is noteworthy that these departments had the benefit of the co-operation of a Turkish sociologist who applied skilful methods to ensure the best adjustment of the inhabitants of the Gecekondu after transformation or transfer.

In parallel with the transformation of the hovels, their inhabitants were taught to read and write and were given other education. These rural migrants, moreover, can benefit on the same basis as townspeople from the vocational training activities (apprenticeship, accelerated vocational training, training within industry, etc.) which are at present being developed in the large towns. It is interesting to note that, with regard to the vocational training and the building of workers' housing for the inhabitants of the Gecekondu, the trade unions had their word to say and responsibilities to share with the Government and the employers' organisations. For the rest, the trade unions as well as the other institutions and organisations under consideration treat the rural migrants and the town workers on the same footing.

The activities undertaken to promote the adjustment of rural people already settled on the outskirts of towns have led to measures being taken to raise the standard of adult education, and to improve housing conditions and the distribution of population in the countryside. Thus, regional development and the absorption of manpower on the spot become easier. Rural people emigrating to the towns will thus be better prepared to adjust themselves. An ingenious measure of this kind is the pre-training of rural youths during military service.

INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS

LABOUR MOBILITY — REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Each international organisation views internal mobility from its own particular angle. Thus, the UNO Economic Commission for Europe regards the reduction by 50 per cent of the active agricultural population of Europe as essential.

The acceleration of the transfer of European rural population surpluses to non-agricultural activities can only aggravate the problem of their social and occupational adjustment.

The Council of Europe are in favour of keeping the rural population in the countryside through regional development. In this way the demographic and social equilibrium of the countryside would be preserved and the occupational mobility of rural people could be brought about with minimum social cost.

The International Labour Organisation is also in favour of establishing industries in the country-side or, according to circumstances, of labour mobility. Rural people who transfer to non-agricultural activities have the right to assistance in adjustment (transport, expenses, housing grants, occupational training, etc.).

The European Economic Community is in favour of internal mobility, regional development and mobility within the Community. In order to deal with the economic and social problems posed by these three aspects the EEC has set up special agencies and taken adequate measures.

ADAPTATION TO INDUSTRY AND TO THE COMMUNITY

The international organisations have two possible courses of action. The first consists of promoting certain policies by means of conferences, recommendations and conventions. The second is direct action through technical and financial intervention.

International organisations are also active through direct measures. The *Council of Europe* works through the Re-establishment Fund. The *ILO* operates through technical assistance granted to various countries for the organisation of employment services and of occupational training centres for adults, from which rural people benefit on the same footing as other workers.

The *EEC* acts through the *European Social Fund* which finances 50 per cent of Member countries' expenditure for the reconversion of the rural population to industrial manpower. Moreover, the *EEC's European Investment Bank* takes part in the financing of projects for the purpose of the development of the less-developed areas, and the establishment of new undertakings to stimulate regional development. In connection with these projects, account should be taken of the social and human interests of the population and of the adjustment of manpower.

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